

THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN * BRILL

The Templar Order in North-west Italy (1142-c.1330)

Elena Bellomo



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The Templar Order in North-west Italy (1142 – c. 1330)

By
Elena Bellomo



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Cover Front: The Templar church of Santa Maria di Isana, Livorno Ferraris.
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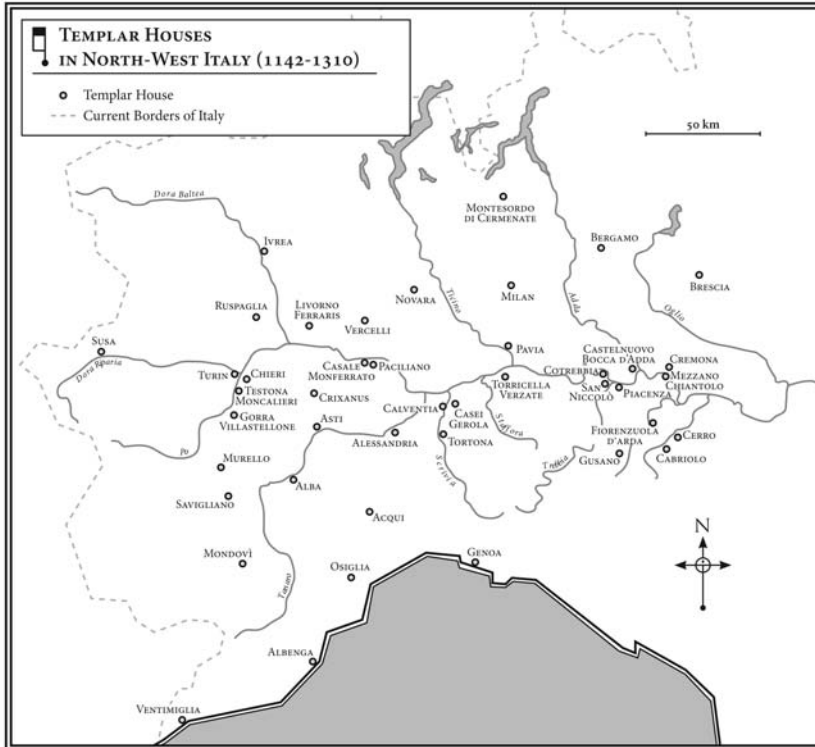
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ABBREVIATIONS

- AOL *Archives de l'Orient Latin.*
- BEF, II ser. *Bibliothèque des Écoles de France d'Athènes et de Rome, II série. Registres et lettres des papes du 13. siècle.*
- BSS *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense.
- BSSS *Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina*, Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria.
- CC.CM *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis.*
- CH *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem. 1100–1310*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1814–1906).
- CT *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple (1119?–1150). Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple*, ed. G. D'Albon (Paris, 1913).
- DBI *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani.
- DIP *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, eds. G. Pelliccia (1962–1968), G. Rocca (1969–), 10 vols. (Rome, 1974–2003).
- HPM *Historiae Patriae Monumenta edita iussu regis Karoli Alberti.*
- IP *Italia pontificia sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a Romanis Pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae ecclesiis, monasteriis, civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum*, ed. F. Kehr, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1906–1975).
- JL *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, eds. P. Jaffé, S. Löwenfeld, P. Kaltenbrunner, P. Ewald, 2 vols. (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1885–1888).
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae historica, inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum, auspiciis Societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum mediæ aevi*, ed. G.H. Pertz.
- SS *Scriptores.*
- QFitAB *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken.*
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus (...). Series secunda in qua prodeunt patres doctores scriptoresque ecclesiae Latinae a Gregorio Magno ad Innocentium III*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1866), 217 vols. + indexes and supplementa.
- Potthast *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab anno p. Ch. n. 1198 ad annum 1304*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874–1875).
- RCI *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*, Istituto Italiano per il Medio Evo.
- RHC *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, publié par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
- Occ *Historiens Occidentaux.*

- RISS *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab anno aerae christianae quingentesimo ad millesimum quingentesimum, quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit ex Ambrosiana, Estensi, aliarumque insignium bibliothecarum codicibus*, ed. L.A. Muratori, 25 vols. (Milan, 1723–1751).
- RISS² *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento ordinata da Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Nuova edizione riveduta ampliata e corretta*, eds. G. Carducci, V. Fiorini (Bologna, 1900–).
- ROL *Revue de l'Orient Latin*.
- RRH *Regesta Regni Hierosolimitani*, ed. R. Röhricht, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1893–1904).



The map shows only Templar houses that definitely existed whose locations have been at least approximately determined.
Map kindly drawn by Marco Meschini, PhD and editing consultant (<http://www.getset.it>).

Map of the Templar houses in North-west Italy. The map shows only Templar houses that definitely existed whose locations have been at least approximately determined. Map kindly drawn by Marco Meschini, PhD and editing consultant (<http://www.getset.it>)

INTRODUCTION

“Gli studi sugli ordini militari durante il basso medioevo hanno continuato ad essere largamente trascurati in Italia (...). Per il Tempio, a parte i recenti lavori di Tommasi, c’è poco di valore scientifico, anche se esiste una letteratura di carattere esoterico o scandalistico.”¹ This was how Anthony Luttrell described the state of research into Military Orders in Italy in 1987. He later added that “the *templaristi* are apt to turn local traditions into facts, to misinterpret toponyms such as ‘Tempio’ and ‘Magione’, and mistakenly to attribute Templar origins to Hospitaller houses”.²

Despite a certain revival of interest in the subject and a number of important research projects,³ the presence of Military Orders in Italy is

¹ A. Luttrell, “Templari e ospitalieri in Italia”, in M. Roncetti, P. Scarpellini, F. Tommasi, eds., *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia. La chiesa di S. Bevignate a Perugia* (Milan, 1987), p. 19, reprinted in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992), essay I.

² A. Luttrell, “The Hospitaller Priory of Venice in 1331”, in E. Coli, M. De Marco, F. Tommasi, eds., *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta* (Perugia, 1994), p. 102, reprinted in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces. 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999), essay XVIII.

³ See, for example, the periodicals *Studi Melitensi*, *Sacra Militia* and related initiatives, events supported by various cultural Delegations of the Order of Malta and conferences relating to the Teutonic Order. J. Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni e territorio. La Liguria tra Provenza e Lombardia nei secoli XIII–XVII*. Atti del Convegno, Genova-Imperia-Cervo, 11–14 settembre 1997 (Genoa, 1999); L. Corti, ed., *Lungo il tragitto crociato della vita* (Venice, 2000); R. Bordone, A. Crosetto, C. Tosco, eds., *L’antico S. Pietro in Asti. Storia, architettura, archeologia* (Turin, 2000); T. Ricardi di Netro, L.C. Gentile, eds., *«Gentilhoumini Christiani e Religiosi Cavalieri». Nove secoli dell’Ordine di Malta in Piemonte* (Milan, 2000); *La presenza dei Cavalieri di San Giovanni in Sicilia*. Convegno Internazionale, Messina, 17–18 giugno 2000 (Rome, 2001); J. Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante tra Emilia e Toscana. Un crocevia per l’Ordine di San Giovanni*. Atti del Convegno, Genova-Chiavari-Rapallo, 9–12 settembre 1999 (Genoa, 2001); K. Elm, C.D. Fonseca, eds., *‘Militia Sancti Sepulcri’. Idea e Istituzioni*. Atti del Colloquio internazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano, 10–12 aprile 1996 (Vatican City, 1998); H. Houben, ed., *L’Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Torre Alemanna (Cerignola)-Mesagne-Lecce, 16–18 ottobre 2003 (Galatina, 2004); K. Toomaspoeg, *Les Teutoniques en Sicile (1197–1492)*, Collection de l’École française de Rome 321 (Rome, 2003); C. Ciannaruconi, ed.,

still a marginal area of investigation in the field of mediaeval studies. People dealing with this topic still find themselves faced with a very uneven bibliography, which includes recent, reliable works in line with current historical research methods, plausible but very dated studies, and contributions made by amateurs with lots of enthusiasm but not the slightest trace of scientific rigour. And this is without considering the publications of a more or less marked masonic or esoteric nature which have nothing whatsoever to do with the academic discipline of history. The lack of accurate synthesis studies is the necessary consequence of this state of local historiography.⁴ There are, in fact, no general treatises on the Templar presence in North-west Italy, apart from a few general accounts on Piedmont, which are, though, often superficial and not very reliable.⁵

The lack of a solid set of studies in this field is also a direct consequence of the not very encouraging state of the sources. Because of the gradual dispersal of the records, studies into the Temple involve lengthy archival searches that often fail to come up with the hoped-for results. After 1312 the documents from the Templar houses were probably only partially transferred to the archives of the Hospital. In the inquisitorial administration period, during the trial, some of the Templar settlements were ransacked and destroyed and the stored records probably met the same fate. Moreover, Hospitaller archives have been

L'ordine templare nel Lazio meridionale. Atti del Convegno, Sabaudia, 21 ottobre 2000 (Casamari, 2003); *Cavalieri di San Giovanni in Liguria e nell'Italia settentrionale. Quadri regionali, uomini e documenti*, Genova, 30 settembre – 2 ottobre 2004; San Leonardo di Siponto. Cella monastica, canonica, *domus Theutonicorum*, 18–19 marzo 2005; Le Crociate: nuove prospettive di ricerca, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 16–17 marzo 2006; I Teutonici tra Sicilia e Mediterraneo, Agrigento, 24–25 marzo 2006; L'Ordine teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico. Incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture, Bari-Lecce-Brindisi, 14–16 settembre 2006; *I Templari in Italia*, ed. C. Guzzo, under preparation.

⁴ The only general history of the Temple in Italy is F. Bramato, *Storia dell'ordine dei Templari in Italia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1991–1994). This not only reflects the fragmentary state of local studies but also an inaccurate consultation of the sources.

⁵ L. Avonto, *I Templari in Piemonte* (Vercelli, 1982) provides an ample overview of the Templar houses in this region. In certain respects, however, the topic is dealt with superficially. The most wide-ranging summary of the Hospitaller presence in this area is that of A. di Ricaldone, *Templari e Gerosolimitani di Malta in Piemonte dal XII al XIX secolo*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1979–1980). It will be quoted mainly in relation to modern-era documents that have been transcribed in this book alone. Unfortunately, this work is not without its serious inaccuracies and misinterpretations.

even further fragmented in modern times, with the oldest documents either being lost or gradually moved to different storage places.⁶

In the area in question, the only case of mediaeval Templar and Hospitaller records being held in a single archival collection is that of the Commandery of Milan. As for most of the other Hospitaller collections of sources, the material held in the Archivi di Stato is almost exclusively modern.⁷ Therefore, in order to trace the records of the Templar houses in North-west Italy and other mentions of the Temple, it has been necessary to sift through material containing documents issued both before and shortly after the disappearance of the Order. The existence of voluminous classified sections of unpublished documents (such as the one in the Biblioteca Civica 'Angelo Mai' in Bergamo) and published collections of documentary sources (such as the 'Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina') have speeded up the study of the records and facilitated the identification of passing references to a Templar presence, such as, quite simply, their mentions in lists of adjoining properties.⁸ However, given the vast quantity of sources from this period it was thought best to conduct the research along certain clearly defined lines. Useful pointers in the search for new material have been found in already published mediaeval documents. Mentions of economic relations between the Temple and a number of local institutions have been used to trace records of transactions with the Military Order amongst those institutions' documents. This was the case in Milan, for example, where the Templars had economic relations

⁶ According to the inventories drawn up during the trial, the documents of the Templar houses were kept in bags, according to normal practice. *Carte in Appendice ai monumenti ravennati del conte Marco Fantuzzi*, ed. A. Tarlazzi, 2 vols. (Ravenna, 1875), I/2, doc. 334, pp. 536–537. As for the problem of the loss of Templar records on a different level to that discussed here see R. Hiestand, "Zum problem des Templerzentralarchivs", *Archivistische Zeitschrift*, 76 (1980), pp. 17–37. For the transfer of the archives of various religious institutes from Syria and Palestine to Italy see also F. Tommasi, "Fondi documentari ultramarini in Italia: l'archivio del Santo Sepolcro da Acri a Perugia", in Elm, Fonseca, eds., *Militia Sancti Sepulcri*, p. 421.

⁷ An overview of the Hospitaller records stored in some Archivi di Stato can be found in S. Arena, *Documenti dell'archivio di Stato di Milano per la storia dell'ordine di Malta in Lombardia*, 6 vols. (Milan, 1978–1989) and in Ricaldone, *Templari*. In the Archivio di Stato in Turin there is a folder containing exclusively Templar documents. Most of these charters regard houses in regions no longer in Italy but previously under Savoy rule.

⁸ In these lists only the owners of the adjacent lands are mentioned and in some cases it is impossible to ascertain whether the references to a *domus Templi* are relevant to the actual building of a Templar house or to Templar property.

with the Humiliati of the Brera house, and a document concerning the Milanese Templar convent is kept along with the Humiliati records.⁹ Unfortunately, though, these pointers have not always led to finding the corresponding material. Searches of this kind were made in Cremona and Piacenza, based on data found in the inventories of Templar estates drawn up during the trial, but no results were obtained.¹⁰

Indications given by modern or contemporary local scholars have been an important starting point. In some cases it has also been possible to reconstruct the series of events in the gradual dispersal of the Hospitaller records. The study of material accumulated in the archives of noble families that had particular links to the Knights of St. John has resulted in the tracing of some of the Templar documents. A good example of this kind of search is the case of the Order's house in Brescia, one of the most well-documented in terms of unpublished documentary material. On going through the nineteenth-century works of some local scholars, it became apparent that one of these, Federico Odorici, had been in possession of deeds regarding the Templar house in the city. A study of Odorici's documentation led to the discovery of numerous documents on the Templar *mansio* of Santa Maria. These are now held in the Archivio di Stato in Brescia, sezione Archivio Civico Bresciano, fondo Codice diplomatico bresciano. Odorici had collected them when building up his collection of Brescia sources, a publication that was to contain the more significant documents from local records, and then left them out. This research into the Templar house of Brescia also led to the discovery of a clear link between the convent, which had long since become a Hospitaller house, and the Averoldis, a local noble lineage, and a search through the family records brought to light a number of documents with references to Santa Maria del Tempio. Finally, a brief acknowledgement in Brescia ecclesiastical records led to the finding of two unpublished wills in which the Temple was mentioned.¹¹

⁹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 470, 13th of December 1244; A. Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani e i Templari a Milano e la via della Commenda", *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, III ser., 53 (1926), doc. 3, p. 217.

¹⁰ For Cremona reference was made to the documents of the Humiliati house of San Cataldo, conserved in Halle and microfilmed by the Centro di Studi per la Storia degli Insegniamenti monastici di Brescia (CESIMB). They have been consulted for me by Elisabetta Filippini. For Piacenza searches have been made of the records of the various church bodies named in the trial records.

¹¹ Cf. E. Bellomo, "La prima attestazione documentaria dei Templari a Brescia", *Brixia Sacra*, III ser., 5/4 (2000), pp. 97–100; E. Bellomo, "Da mansione templare a casa

Unfortunately, nothing resulted from the search in the archives of the Piedmontese Ponziglione family. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, two members of this family, Amedeo and Luigi, published a number of previously unknown documents on the Temple in the Savoy kingdom. Some of the documents selected or transcribed by the Ponzigliones were subsequently republished, whereas others have never been traced, and finding them could have been useful in dispelling suspicions that they may have been forgeries. The doubts about their authenticity stem from the fact that Amedeo Ponziglione came into contact with a certain Francesco Giuseppe Meyranesio, now known to have dealt in forgeries.¹² In his essay on the Templars Ponziglione states that he obtained two documents from Meyranesio on the Templar house of Mondovì.¹³ In his transcription of the first document there are many omissions. An analysis of the text, however, leads one to the conclusion that the charter is a forgery. According to the document in 1178 Guglielmo di Morozzo bequeathed a house and his possessions *in Vico ad opus militie templi Domini Nostri Jesu Christi quod est trans mare*. The donation was apparently connected to the establishment of a hospital *in dicto loco Vico cum jornatis XX terre aratorie in Bredulo prope castrum vetus et X in Caraxonio*.¹⁴ There are several anomalies in the document: the mention of a son of the donor whose name began with W, whereas none of Guglielmo's known heirs had a name beginning with this letter, a reference to the donor having property *in Caraxono*, where, as far as we know, the family had no possessions, a reference to the old castle in Bredulo, a place where there was no such building (only Morozzo had a castle, from which Guglielmo took his cognomen "de veteri castello") and, above all, the mention of Anselmo Brusaporcello, who

gerosolimitana: S. Maria del Tempio di Brescia nel XIV secolo", in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, pp. 357–376.

¹² There were several forgers at work in the eighteenth century. Meyranesio produced forged documents for other scholars and to support his own theories. M. Pellegrino, "Sull'autenticità d'un gruppo di omelie e di sermoni attribuiti a s. Massimo di Torino", *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 110 (1955–1956), pp. 10–17; E. Morozzo della Rocca, "Corrispondenza di F.G. Meyranesio con C.V. Doglio", *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 13 (1908), pp. 177–216, 14 (1909), pp. 119–132, 312–376, 15 (1910), pp. 17–88; L. Provero, *Dai marchesi del Vasto ai primi marchesi di Saluzzo. Sviluppi signorili entro quadri pubblici (secoli X–XII)*, BSSS 209 (Turin, 1992), pp. 15–19, 94–95.

¹³ A. Ponziglione, "Saggio storico intorno ai Templari del Piemonte e degli altri Stati del Re", *Ozi Letterari*, 3 (1791), pp. 117–118.

¹⁴ Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 2, pp. 151–152.

had actually died five years before the document was written.¹⁵ All of these elements, together with other smaller inaccuracies,¹⁶ lead us to the conclusion that the charter was a Meyranesio forgery. Also, it should be noted that Meyranesio forged several other documents on the subject of Mondovì.¹⁷ This should make us even more wary of the second document cited by Ponziglione, yet again obtained from Meyranesio, a deed of 1216 supposedly providing further evidence of the presence of Templars in Mondovì.¹⁸

The suspicion of forgery extends to other references made by Ponziglione, who confirms that he received “much other news about the Templars of Piedmont” from Meyranesio.¹⁹ He also refers to another known Meyranesio forgery, the document on the dividing up of marquis Bonifacio del Vasto’s inheritance amongst his children, as authentic.²⁰ According to the forgery this deed, issued in 1142, was transcribed, presumably in the following century, at the request of marquis Enrico di Ponzone, a Templar brother.²¹ Two or three Templars bearing this name existed,²² but the document is definitely false and one wonders quite simply if Meyranesio had a certain propensity to including Templars in his documents. All in all, therefore, there are good grounds to believe that a number of documents and statements, whilst being accepted in good faith as authentic by Ponziglione, were actually counterfeits. This is further borne out by the fact that some of them seem to

¹⁵ Cf. P. Guglielmotti, *I Signori di Morozzo nei secoli X–XIV. Un percorso nel Piemonte meridionale*, BSSS 206 (Turin, 1990), *ad indicem* and genealogies, pp. 297, 300. Thanks to Paola Guglielmotti for helping me to examine this parchment. I have noted only the most evident points that clearly show the document to be a forgery.

¹⁶ For example, Paola Guglielmotti also points out that the name of one of the witnesses, Aymo, does not correspond to the names habitually used in the district. Another strange thing is that no information has reached us on the bishop of Asti’s attitude to a donation of this kind, despite his being such a prominent figure in the area. For the name of the Military Order in twelfth century documents see F. Tommasi, “«Pauperes Commilitones Christi». Aspetti e problemi delle origini gerosolimitane”, in *Militia Christi? e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII*. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989 (Milan, 1992), pp. 448–454.

¹⁷ Morozzo della Rocca, “Corrispondenza”, pp. 185–186.

¹⁸ Ponziglione, “Saggio”, pp. 117–118.

¹⁹ Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 117.

²⁰ Ponziglione, “Saggio”, pp. 142–143. The core of Marquis Bonifacio del Vasto’s dominions were western Liguria and part of southern Piedmont.

²¹ The document is edited in D. Mulletti, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche appartenenti alla città e ai marchesi di Saluzzo*, 6 vols. (Saluzzo, 1829–1839), II, pp. 20–34 (the mention of Enrico is on p. 34). See also Provero, *Dai marchesi del Vasto*, p. 94, note 57.

²² See below, Chapter IV, pp. 132–133.

follow a recurrent pattern: the Templars are noted amongst the neighbours of a sold, purchased or exchanged property and a number of Templars appear amongst the witnesses to the deed.²³ The finding of the original documents would have thrown some light on these queries, but unfortunately the records of the Ponziglione family, now held in the Archivio di Stato in Turin, make no mention of the matter.²⁴ The existence of houses attested to solely by the Ponzigliones, therefore, is to be considered as dubious.

Another thing to be noted is that documents on the Temple often go missing, perhaps also because of the general aura of mystery that still surrounds the Order. In 1926 Alessandro Colombo studied the deeds concerning the Templar and Hospitaller presence in Milan. Since then two of the documents seen directly by Colombo have disappeared very recently from the Archivio di Stato in Milan, one after being last examined in 1993.²⁵

The almost total dispersal and consequent loss of Templar houses' archive material has, of course, affected the reconstruction undertaken in this work. There are few surviving documents for this region in comparison with the large number of primary sources available on the Templars in Spain or France.²⁶ In even the most well-documented houses of western mediaeval Lombardy there are only about thirty mentions to be found in primary sources and the majority of these are merely generic references to the presence of Templar properties in certain places. This dearth of information thus prevents an in-depth investigation into a variety of issues such as, for instance, the hierarchical structure, the cure of souls, and the management of property. Even the

²³ See below, Part II, pp. 350, 356.

²⁴ A study was made of the documents in Turin, Archivio di Stato, Raccolte private, Ferrero Ponziglione, mazzo 2, carte familiari and Archivi privati, Ferrero di Ponziglione.

²⁵ These are deeds dating back to 1215 and 1331, already referred to in Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 1, p. 216 and doc. 36, p. 237. The latter was recently re-examined in F. Ombrelli, "La magione e ospedale di Rovagnasco", in *Atti dell'XI Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Trent, 1993), pp. 13–26. A deed from 1152, which Colombo probably did not examine directly, is no longer traceable. Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 3, p. 215.

²⁶ For instance, see A. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), p. V; P. Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la Péninsule ibérique. Les ordres militaires dans le Royaume de Castille. 1252–1369* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 21–30; D. Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312). Ordres Militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Lyon, 2005), pp. 25–37.

choice of the geographical area of research was dictated by the need to carry out long archival searches. The region studied corresponds approximately to the current Valle d'Aosta, Piedmont, Lombardy and Liguria. It was decided to include the area of Piacenza because of its close links with the Lombard lands and the leading role that the local Templar house had in north-western Italian settlements.²⁷ This geographical area does not coincide with the Order's entire administrative district, known as *Lombardia*, which, since the twelfth century at least, covered the whole of northern Italy, including Emilia and Romagna.²⁸ Given the impossibility of carrying out archival searches over such a vast area during my doctoral studies, it was decided to concentrate on the western part of the district which, especially in Piedmont, has a large number of published documentary sources. The scope of this study is the period between the first citation of the Temple in the area in 1142 and the last references in the 1330s to houses and property once belonging to the Order. However, in a number of cases, the need to refer to documents produced long after the dissolution of the Temple, often taken from *cabrei* of the Knights of St. John from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries,²⁹ has made it necessary to go beyond the date specified in the title.

Going through the documents has made it possible to produce the first census of Templar houses in North-west Italy. Using the records found, the Templar presence was examined first of all at local level, reconstructing the topographical location and the activities of the individual settlements. The results of this initial study form the second part of the book, consisting of outlines of the Templar houses in North-west Italy. The study of the Temple's role and position in different local con-

²⁷ The Templar house of Nice (France) and its estate were not taken into consideration here, being more closely linked to the Provence houses than the Italian ones. The only attestations found in the documents examined that possibly refer to here can also be interpreted as referring to Nizza Monferrato. It has also been decided not to include the city of Mantua in the area of study, as this would have involved consulting the records for the Veneto districts, given their close link with Mantua.

²⁸ In this book the term "Lombardy" will be prevalently used with this meaning. Only the names more familiar to mediaevalists, such as those of popes, sovereigns, and Templar dignitaries have been translated into English. It has been decided to leave the names of people active in or originating from North-west Italy in Italian or Latin, together with those of the churches and Templar houses.

²⁹ The term *cabreum* indicates a list of possessions belonging to major ecclesiastical organisations or dynasties. It is the preferred term used when referring to modern documentation on the estates of the Order of Malta.

texts is intended to provide both further knowledge of houses that have already been studied as well as an initial picture of those that have not.

Another aim of the documentary research into the published repertoires and local archives was to seek out the information necessary to make a number of general points on the presence of the Order in North-west Italy. These points have been grouped in the initial part of the work.³⁰ With the help of already collected and analysed material it has been possible to trace the Order's lines of development in the area in question, evaluating not only its relations with the different power groups in the zone but also the way that events in the Latin East influenced the houses in North-west Italy. From this point of view, the work intends to make up for a general shortcoming in the few studies on the Temple in this area which have tended to neglect this poorly-documented but, nonetheless, existing aspect.

The results of this work, which have brought to light numerous unpublished documents and traced previously unknown houses, cannot, however, be taken as conclusive as far as a census of Templar houses is concerned. It has not actually been possible to go through all the unpublished sources from either before or immediately after the dissolution of the Temple. The finding of new documents on the trial, with their precious inventories of houses and possessions, may also be of significance in tracing other minor Templar settlements (to name but one: the highly important inventory of the Order's Ligurian possessions, which was taken directly to Avignon by the Inquisitor for the March of Genoa and of which no trace remains).³¹ However, it is unlikely that the tracing of new houses and charters will considerably alter the general features of the Templar presence in the area as outlined in this work. Thus, by providing the first picture of the Temple presence at a focal point of the mediaeval Mediterranean, such as North-west Italy, this research hopes to contribute to the knowledge of the Temple and to be a useful aid to students of Military Orders.

³⁰ I have not addressed the Lombard participation in the Crusades and the relations between North-west Italy and the Latin East in a specific chapter. References to these topics are in both sections of this work.

³¹ Thanks to Damien Carraz for the searches in the Avignon archives and Francesco Tommasi for the explanations regarding the trial documents stored in Paris.

PART I

THE TEMPLE IN NORTH-WEST ITALY:
A GENERAL PICTURE

CHAPTER I

THE TEMPLAR ORDER IN NORTH-WEST ITALY (TWELFTH-THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)

I. *The first Templar houses (1142–1160)*

The Templar Order was a peculiar institution, not only because it brought together religious profession and the use of arms, but also because it existed on both sides of the Mediterranean, with different yet complementary aims. The role of the Western provinces in the Military Orders active in the Holy Land was a vitally important one, as they were the source of the essential resources needed for pursuing the struggle against the infidel, their primary task.¹ Ensuring that their Western houses were firmly established at local level was thus a vital condition for contributing to the recruitment activities and funding of the Order. From this perspective it would seem natural that the Temple's first Western houses were located in areas that already had links with the Latin East or that were involved in the flow of goods and men (crusaders, pilgrims and merchants) to the Levant.

The earliest records of a Templar presence in North-west Italy concern houses established at important junctions on the road network, such as (in chronological order) Milan (1142), Albenga (1143), Bergamo (1145) and Vercelli (1145). Unfortunately, the 1142 reference to the Genoese church of Santa Fede does not say which order it belongs to. Its ownership by the Temple is not stated until twenty years later. What seems likely, though, is that it already belonged to the Order in 1142:² the position of the building outside the city walls, a typical Templar choice of location, and its proximity to an area of potential develop-

¹ Luttrell, "Templari", p. 21.

² *Le carte del monastero di S. Siro di Genova*, eds. M. Calleri, S. Machiavello, M. Traino, 4 vols., *Fonti per la Storia della Liguria* 5–8 (Genoa, 1997–1998), I, 952–1224, doc. 104, pp. 162–163; *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, eds. M. Chiaudiano, M. Moresco, 2 vols., RCI 19–20 (Rome, 1935), I, doc. 795, p. 427.

ment next to the sea, are significant indicators in this respect.³ The same thing seems to apply to the Genoese church of San Sepolcro, where the Hospitaller house of San Giovanni di Pré was founded. The first record of this dates from 1143 but its ownership by the Hospitallers is not confirmed until later on. This too probably already belonged to the Knights of St. John when it was first mentioned.⁴

If this was so, then two of the first Templar houses in North-west Italy (Albenga and Genoa) were in Ligurian ports. The Order would thus have been in a position to maintain continuous links with the East, thanks to the contacts that had already existed for some time between Liguria and the Latin states of Syria and Palestine. Also, the Military Order was likely to have been well-accepted in city circles, where its Mediterranean outlook would have been fully appreciated and valued.⁵

Genoa's participation in the Crusades had been incisive⁶ and had brought considerable trading benefits to the local commune. The same can probably be said of the town of Albenga. Despite there being very little in the sources on its links with the Holy Land, it is in fact mentioned in the first privileges issued by the crusader leaders along with the towns of Genoa, Noli and Savona.⁷ So, the first expeditions setting off from this region for Outremer must have been of mixed composition. The Genoese were probably predominant, but these early crusader efforts were likely to have been concerted, involving the whole of the Western Riviera.⁸ This gives even more significance to the fact

³ L. Grossi Bianchi, E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del Medioevo. Genova nei secoli X–XVI* (Genoa, 1987), map II, pp. 52–53, maps V–VI, pp. 94–95, 124–125.

⁴ A. Dagnino, *San Giovanni di Pré*, in *Medioevo restaurato: Genova 1860–1940* (Genoa, 1984), p. 160; G. Rossini, “San Giovanni di Pré e la tipologia delle case doppie presso l'ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, pp. 72–80; A. Luttrell, “Gli Ospedalieri a Genova dall'inchiesta papale del 1373”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, pp. 219–220.

⁵ G. Airaldi, “Genova e l'Oltremare: le origini di S. Giovanni di Pré”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, pp. 22–26.

⁶ E. Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio e del Santo Sepolcro. Caffaro e l'Oriente latino* (Padua, 2003), pp. 112–140.

⁷ *I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, eds. D. Puncuh, A. Rovere, S. Dellacasa, E. Madia, M. Bibolini, E. Pallavicino, 9 vols., Fonti per la Storia della Liguria 1, 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17—Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato. Fonti 12, 13, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 39 (Genoa–Rome, 1992–2002), I/1, doc. 61, p. 102, doc. 119, p. 183. For the port of Albenga in the Middle Ages see F. Varaldo Grottin, ed., *Porti antichi. Archeologia del commercio* (Genoa, 1996), pp. 83–86.

⁸ Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio*, pp. 153–154.

that the only Ligurian houses of the Temple traced so far were in that very area, between Ventimiglia and Genoa.

Milan, Bergamo and Vercelli too, situated at major junctions on the routes to the Holy Land, seem to have played their part in supporting and contributing to the flow of men and means needed for the Temple's ventures in the East. The Po Valley and subalpine regions strengthened their links with Outremer considerably in the first half of the century, thanks to the frequent involvement of Lombards in the Crusades,⁹ and these favourably located cities, known for their deep-seated devotion to the holy places, often provided care and shelter to travellers, including pilgrims.¹⁰

Unfortunately, we have no definite information on the period when the first Templar houses were established in North-west Italy, although there are deeds from the 1140s that refer to houses already existing in the area, San Calocero in Albenga being the best documented of these. Five deeds dating from 1143 to 1145 refer to the convent's actions in the forming of a united land estate next to the house itself. As no mention has been found of any donations made explicitly to San Calocero in this period, this economic policy seems to have been based primarily on an action taken by the house itself.¹¹ The fact that

⁹ 'Lombard' and 'Longobard' (i.e. Lombards from North and South Italy) crusaders took part in the First Crusade. A Lombard from South Italy built a siege machine at Nicaea and a priest from Milan was at the siege of Antioch. In 1100–1101 a Lombard crusade, recruited in North Italy and bound for Jerusalem, failed.

Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), pp. 2–3; A.A. Settia, "Un «Lombardo» alla prima crociata", in A.A. Settia, *Comuni in guerra. Armie ed eserciti nell'Italia delle città* (Bologna, 1993), pp. 247–260. The article also appeared in *Società, istituzioni, spiritualità nell'Europa medioevale. Scritti in onore di Cinzio Violante*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 843–855 with the title "Un «Lombardo» alla prima crociata. Tecnologie militari fra Occidente e Oriente"; Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio*, pp. 145–146; G. Andenna, R. Salvarani, eds., *Deus non voluit. I Lombardi alla prima crociata. 1100–1101. Dal mito alla ricostruzione della realtà*. Atti del Convegno, Milano, 10–11 dicembre 1999 (Milan, 2003).

¹⁰ Cf. M.T. Brolis, "All'origine dei primi ospedali di Bergamo. L'iniziativa dei laici nel XII secolo", *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, 127 (1993), pp. 53–77; R. Salvarani, "San Sepolcro a Milano nella storia delle crociate", in Andenna, Salvarani, eds., *Deus non voluit*, pp. 263–282; R. Orsenigo, *Vercelli Sacra* (Como, 1929), p. 140; E. Meyer, *Die Function von Hospitälern in städtischen Kommunen Piemonts. 11.–13. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), pp. 76–121.

¹¹ The documents were partially published in P. Accame, *Notizie e documenti inediti sui Templari e Gerosolimitani in Liguria* (Finalborgo, 1902) and in complete form in *Instrumenta episcoporum Albiganensium*, eds. P. Accame, G. Pesce (Albenga, 1903). They were recently republished in M. Cennamo, *I Templari ad Albenga* (Albenga, 1994), which will be referred to later on. For the deeds cited see *ibid.*, pp. 30–37.

this task was assigned to a layman affiliated to the Temple, a *conversus* probably recruited here and named Oberto, further underlines the existence of a positive local attitude towards the Order. The practise of affiliation allowed lay people who offered themselves to the Temple to enjoy some spiritual, and sometimes material, benefits without becoming full professed members of the Order. This kind of association is often mentioned in the first charters concerning several Templar houses.¹²

In Milan the first documents found on the Templar *mansio* show that it was a well-established convent, with a certain number of brethren, including some from important Milanese families, and an estate extending into the countryside. There is also a probable mention of a lay associate to the house, which is of significance.¹³

In Bergamo the first mention discovered of the Temple is in a will, in which the testator is named as *Hierosolimitano Templo ad serviendum Deo traditus et oblatus*.¹⁴ The person in question was another layman associated to the Temple. This further confirms the confluence of ideals between the Templars and Lombard secular society, immediately apparent in the earliest documents found.

The first charter referring to the Temple in Vercelli talks of a donation of a plot of land made to the Order in general in 1145, subsequently confirmed in 1146.¹⁵ We cannot therefore be certain that there was already a house here at that date, especially since no further mention was made of it for thirty years.¹⁶ This, however, is the first reference to Templar property in what is now Piedmont.

The dates of these references coincide with a period of great importance for the Latin East, around the time of the Second Crusade (1147–1149). Although this *passagium* was a further occasion for contact between the part of the Military Order active in the war zone, the

¹² See below, Chapter III, pp. 122–125.

¹³ Although the word *confrater* sometimes can also mean a full professed member of the Order, in this case it is very probable that it refers to a lay affiliate of the house. Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 2, p. 214.

¹⁴ E. Bellomo, “Una mansione templare dell’Italia settentrionale: S. Maria del Tempio di Bergamo”, *Sacra Militia*, 2 (2001), doc. 1, pp. 193–194.

¹⁵ *Le carte dell’archivio capitolare di Vercelli*, eds. D. Arnoldi, G.C. Faccio, F. Gabotto, G. Rocchi, 2 vols., BSSS 70–71 (Pinerolo, 1912–1914), I, doc. 126, p. 153, doc. 128, p. 158.

¹⁶ *Le carte dell’archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, ed. D. Arnoldi, 2 vols., BSSS 85/2 + appendix (Pinerolo, 1917–1932), doc. 15, p. 232.

Lombard nobility¹⁷ and some communes,¹⁸ the documents in our possession make no mention of these events and talk of Templar actions aimed mainly at consolidating the presence of its communities in local society.

In the following decade the Temple's efforts were mainly dedicated to strengthening its recently acquired positions. The documents from this time mostly refer to houses already mentioned in the previous decade (Genoa¹⁹ and Milan).²⁰ The presence of the Temple next to Chieri,²¹ an important junction in the Piedmont road network, was first referred to in 1156, almost fifty years before the earliest evidence of a local Order house.

In North-west Italy the only surviving bequest to the Temple from this period was made in the same year, 1156, when Raimondo Pictenado, a merchant of French origin residing in Genoa, bequeathed it twenty *soldi*.²²

A reference to the Templar house of *Villa Mausonii* may also come from this period. The only remaining evidence of this house is a code, now in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, which tells of a provincial chapter held in this place.²³ Unfortunately, though, the only chronological data relevant to this reference is that of the dating of the actual manuscript, which Simonetta Cerrini puts as being in the third quarter of the twelfth century, also arguing that the provincial chapter took place in the same period.²⁴ The exact location of *Villa Mausonii* has still

¹⁷ W. Haberstumpf, *Dinastie europee nel Mediterraneo Orientale. I Monferrato e i Savoia nei secoli XII–XV* (Turin, 1995), pp. 160–164.

¹⁸ For example, the Genoese collaborated with the Templars in the conquest of the Iberian city of Tortosa. Caffaro, *Ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose*, in *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, eds. L.T. Belgrano, C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 5 vols., *Fonti per la storia d'Italia 11–14bis* (Rome, 1890–1919), p. 86.

¹⁹ *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 47, p. 24.

²⁰ *Le pergamene della canonica di S. Ambrogio nel secolo XII. Le prepositure di Alberto di S. Giorgio, Lanterio Castiglioni, Satrapa (1152–1178)*, ed. A. Ambrosioni (Milan, 1974), doc. 13, p. 42.

²¹ *Cartario dell'abbazia di Casanova fino all'anno 1313*, ed. A. Tallone, BSSS 14 (Pinerolo, 1903), doc. 10, pp. 16–17.

²² *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 47, p. 24.

²³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2649, fols. 28^v, 32^v.

²⁴ S. Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi templari tra i manoscritti latini e francesi della Regola", in *I Templari in Piemonte: dalla storia al mito*. Atti del convegno, Torino, 20 ottobre 1994 (Turin, s.d.), p. 39; S. Cerrini, "La tradition manuscrite de la Règle du Temple. Études pour une nouvelle édition des versions latine et française", in M. Balard, ed., *Autour de la Première Croisade*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 14 (Paris, 1996), pp. 209–210.

to be traced, yet it cannot be ruled out that this place was in the eastern part of mediaeval Lombardy.

Certain currents in Italian historiography argue that St. Bernard assisted in the establishment of some Templar houses in the early days of the Order in North-west Italy.²⁵ His patronage of the Temple was, in fact, a decisive factor, and he travelled to Italy several times in the period between the 1230s and 1240s.²⁶ During the quarrel between Innocent II and the antipope Anacletus II,²⁷ St. Bernard crossed the Alps repeatedly for the specific purpose of healing the rift among the Italian clergy in Innocent's favour.²⁸ In the course of this complex and frequently controversial mission, St. Bernard had the opportunity to visit several cities that would become host to Templar communities.

Genoa had already offered its bishop's see to St. Bernard at some time between 1116 and 1130, and he stayed there for a few days in 1133.²⁹ One of his first letters to the Genoese is dated 1134, and in the following year he attended the Council of Pisa together with the city's archbishop.³⁰ Also, Genoa, along with Pisa, was one of the first places

²⁵ Bramato, *Storia*, I, pp. 44–48.

²⁶ For relations between St. Bernard and the Temple see *Liber ad Milites Templi. De Laude Novae Militiae*, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds. J. Leclercq, H. Rochas, 7 vols. (Rome, 1957–1977), III, *Tractatus et opuscola*, pp. 205–239; M. Melville, “Les Débuts de l'Ordre du Temple”, in J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann, eds., *Die geistlichen Ritterordens Europas* (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 23–30; M.L. Bulst-Thiele, “The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar”, in M. Gervers, ed., *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), pp. 57–65; A. Demurger, *Vie et mort de l'ordre du Temple* (Paris, 1985), pp. 34–43; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 38–49.

²⁷ P.F. Palombo, *Lo scisma del MCXXX* (Rome, 1942); F.-J. Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130* (Köln-Graz, 1961).

²⁸ A. Ambrosioni, “Bernardo e il papato”, in *Bernardo cistercense*. Atti del XXVI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 8–11 ottobre 1989 (Spoleto, 1990), pp. 59–79; A. Ambrosioni, “San Bernardo, il papato e l'Italia”, in P. Zerbi, ed., *San Bernardo e l'Italia*. Atti del Convegno di studi, Milano, 24–26 maggio 1990 (Milan, 1993), pp. 25–49; P. Zerbi, “San Bernardo di Clairvaux e Milano”, in Zerbi, ed., *San Bernardo*, pp. 51–67; P. Zerbi, “I rapporti di san Bernardo di Chiaravalle con i vescovi e le diocesi d'Italia”, in P. Zerbi, *Tra Milano e Cluny. Momenti di vita e cultura ecclesiastica nel secolo XII*, Italia Sacra 5 (2nd edition, Rome, 1991), pp. 3–94. The article also appeared in *Vescovi e diocesi nel Medioevo (sec. IX–XIII)*. Atti del II convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia, Roma, 5–9 settembre 1961 (Padua, 1964), pp. 219–313.

²⁹ V. Polonio, “San Bernardo, Genova e Pisa”, in Zerbi, ed., *San Bernardo*, pp. 70–71, 89–90.

³⁰ Shortly afterwards St. Bernard encouraged the Genoese to continue supporting Innocent's cause. Polonio, “San Bernardo”, p. 90ff.

to side with Innocent II, who, after fleeing Rome, was welcomed as a guest in both cities.³¹ It was at Innocent's behest that Genoa became an archbishopric in 1133.³²

The Cistercian Order must also have been familiar to the Genoese thanks to the mediatory role played by the monastery of Santa Maria and Santa Croce in Tiglieto, founded around 1120 in a place that had many links with the city.³³ In 1131, or perhaps earlier, the Genoese monastery of Sant'Andrea in Sestri had opted for the Cistercian Observance, thus becoming the first urban Cistercian monastery.³⁴ This readiness to adopt innovative spiritual doctrines was another important reason why Genoa became one of the first places in North-west Italy to have a Templar house. In this particular case, however, there is no evidence of St. Bernard's direct patronage.

In the case of Milan³⁵ it has been suggested explicitly that a visit by St. Bernard may have encouraged the foundation of a Templar house there, and the first references to the Order's convent in the city do in fact infer probable Cistercian links. The first mention of a Templar presence in Milan appears in a donation written *in curte de Templo* and made to Chiaravalle, the Cistercian monastery founded by St. Bernard.³⁶ Relations with St. Bernard in the city of Milan, one of the strongholds of Anacletus' supporters, were of a different nature to those in Genoa. The Cistercians were, however, nearby³⁷ and may have acted as intermediaries for St. Bernard inside the city. They are identifiable as the *albi et grisi* monks who incited the citizens' assembly to drive away the local archbishop.³⁸ Thanks to these precedents and St. Bernard's charisma, his first visit to Milan in 1135 was a veritable

³¹ Polonio, "San Bernardo", p. 76.

³² Zerbi, "I rapporti", pp. 14–16; V. Polonio, "Dalla diocesi all'arcidiocesi di Genova", in *Momenti di storia e arte religiosa in Liguria*, Fonti e studi di storia ecclesiastica 3 (Genoa, 1963), pp. 1–57, reprinted in V. Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Liguria medievale*, Italia Sacra 67 (Rome, 2002), pp. 33–72; Polonio, "San Bernardo", pp. 84–88.

³³ Polonio, "San Bernardo", p. 73.

³⁴ M.T. Maiolino, C. Varaldo, eds., "Repertorio dei monasteri liguri. Diocesi di Genova", in *Liguria monastica*, Italia benedettina 2 (Cesena, 1979), no. 15, pp. 113–115.

³⁵ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", p. 192.

³⁶ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", pp. 186–189, doc. 1, p. 213.

³⁷ Zerbi, "I rapporti", pp. 43–45; G. Picasso, "Fondazioni e riforme monastiche di san Bernardo in Italia", in Zerbi, ed., *San Bernardo*, p. 149 ff.

³⁸ Zerbi, "I rapporti", pp. 46–49; Zerbi, "San Bernardo", pp. 53–54; P. Zerbi, "La rinascita monastica nella Bassa Milanese dopo l'anno 1000", in P. Zerbi, *Tra Milano e Chiny*, pp. 428–429. The article also appeared in *Archivio Ambrosiano*, 40 (1980), pp. 55–81. The identification of these people as Templar brethren suggested in F. Bramato,

triumph,³⁹ which, however, was not to be repeated. The dissent between Rome and Milan was not resolved, in fact, and a subsequent letter of St. Bernard's talks of the failure of a second mission to the city.⁴⁰ Here too, none of the sources mention any actions taken by St. Bernard to aid the establishment of the Templars in Milan.

Before reaching Milan, St. Bernard also went to Cremona, home of another future Templar community, to ask for the release of some Milanese prisoners of war.⁴¹ This request was refused in Cremona, as was a similar one later on in Pavia.⁴² On this same journey he probably went to Piacenza as well, where there is no record of him being actually linked to the formation of a Templar community, although he did become patron of the Abbey of Chiaravalle della Colomba.⁴³

St. Bernard returned to Italy in 1148. During this visit he was present at the consecration of Vercelli cathedral⁴⁴ and stayed in Piacenza again.⁴⁵ As with his previous sojourn, there is no evidence of a link between St. Bernard and the presence of the Temple in the towns he visited.

In actual fact, the first definite meeting between the Templar Order and the clergy of North-west Italy took place at the Council of Pisa (1135), where several donations were made to the Temple.⁴⁶ A number of prelates from the region were present at this assize, and it may have been the first opportunity for them to meet the new Order.⁴⁷

"La «guerra» e la «santità» nelle *domus* templari italiane delle origini", in S. Cerrini, ed., *I Templari, la guerra, la santità* (Rimini, 2000), pp. 70–72 is not very credible.

³⁹ Zerbi, "I rapporti", pp. 54–70; Zerbi, "San Bernardo", pp. 58–61.

⁴⁰ Zerbi, "I rapporti", pp. 78–79, note 167; Zerbi, "San Bernardo", pp. 61–67.

⁴¹ St. Bernard's influence in the creation of a local Templar house has been hypothesised in F. Tantardini, "I Templari a Cremona e i vescovi Sicardo e Rainerio", *Bollettino Storico Cremonese*, n.s., 6 (1999), p. 280. No evidence confirms this supposition.

⁴² Zerbi, "I rapporti", p. 71, note 149, p. 78, note 165.

⁴³ Cf. A.M. Rapetti, *La formazione di una comunità cistercense: istituzioni e strutture organizzative di Chiaravalle della Colomba tra XII e XIII secolo*, Italia Sacra 62 (Rome, 1999), pp. 13–32. Emilio Nasalli Rocca suggested that St. Bernard was involved in the foundation of a Templar house in Piacenza. E. Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione dei Templari a Piacenza", *Bollettino Storico Piacentino*, 36 (1941), pp. 101–102.

⁴⁴ L. Minghetti Rondoni, "S. Bernardo alla consacrazione della cattedrale di S. Maria di Vercelli", in Zerbi, ed., *San Bernardo*, pp. 141–146.

⁴⁵ Zerbi, "I rapporti", p. 79, note 167.

⁴⁶ C.J. Hefele, J. Leclercq, *Histoires des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, 11 vols. (Paris, 1907–1952), V/1, p. 713.

⁴⁷ For the privileges granted to the Temple by Innocent II see *Papsturkunden für Temppler und Johanniter*, ed. R. Hiestand, 2 vols., Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius 1–2, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 77, 135 (Göttingen,

According to the sources in our possession, St. Bernard only patronised the foundation and development of Cistercian establishments during his journeys to Italy.⁴⁸ Some towns, like Albenga and Bergamo, locations of the first Templar houses, had no contacts of any significance either with St. Bernard himself or with the first Cistercian monasteries. In only one case is there an expressly stated link between the Saint and the Italian Templars: Godfrey of Auxerre, St. Bernard's biographer, noted that the Templars of Rome received a tunic from the Abbot, the Order's special patron, in 1138.⁴⁹ However, the fact that St. Bernard looked on this new Order in such a favourable light is likely to have led to it being well-received in the cities where he was known directly, and that had had an intense, albeit controversial, relationship with him.

2. *The consolidation of the Templar
presence up to the end of the twelfth century*

The consolidation and expansion of the Temple in North-west Italy continued throughout the last forty years of the twelfth century. The Order was able to further establish itself in the area, increasing the number of its houses and weaving a network of relationships with the local nobility and civil authorities. The number of documents mention-

1972–1984), I, doc. 3, pp. 204–210, doc. 8, pp. 214–215, doc. 10, pp. 216–217; R. Hiestand, “Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens”, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 99 (1988), p. 301. The Council was attended by, amongst others, the prelates of Genoa, Piacenza, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Novara, Alba, Ivrea, Vercelli, Acqui, Lodi, Tortona, Bobbio and Aosta. *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, MGH *Leges* 4/1, ed. L. Weiland (Hanover, 1893), p. 577. At the council there was also a delegate from Milan. Landulphus de Sancto Paulo, *Historia Mediolanensis*, eds. L. Bethmann, Ph. Jaffé, MGH SS 20 (Hanover, 1867), ch. 60, p. 46.

⁴⁸ R. Manselli, “Fondazioni cistercensi in Italia Settentrionale”, in *Monasteri in Alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare (sec. X–XI)*. Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al XXXII Congresso storico subalpino. III Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, Pinerolo 6–9 settembre 1964 (Turin, 1966), pp. 199–222; Picasso, “Fondazioni e riforme”, pp. 147–163.

⁴⁹ *Sancti Bernardi abbatis Clarae-Vallensis vitae et res gestae libris septem comprehensae. Liber quartus auctore Gaufrido monacho Claraevallensis*, in *Sancti Bernardi abbatis Clarae-Vallensis opera omnia*, ed. J. Mabillon, 4 vols., PL 182–185 (Paris, 1854–1879), IV, col. 32; C. Ciammaruconi, “L'ordine templare nel Lazio meridionale. Analisi di una strategia insediativa”, in Ciammaruconi, ed., *L'ordine templare*, pp. 47–49.

ing Templar houses starts to grow gradually until, from the seventies onwards, it reaches an average of ten or so references a decade.

In the houses already documented in the previous period, work on consolidating estates and gaining a foothold in local society proceeded actively. As mentioned earlier, in 1161 it was confirmed that the Temple owned the Genoese church of Santa Fede, where extension and restoration works had been carried out, supervised by members of the Order.⁵⁰ New evidence of Templar presence in the city in the following years has been found in Genoese records, indicating, furthermore, that the church of Santa Fede had become a point of reference in the surrounding area.⁵¹

In 1167 the affiliation of Robaldo Marabotto and his wife Giusta to the Temple was attested to in Albenga. They were admitted by Bonifacio, *de rebus Templi in Italia magister et procurator*.⁵² So far, this has been the only case come to light of a married couple affiliating to the Temple in North-west Italy. As was usual in affiliations such as these elsewhere, there was the proviso that, after the death of one of the two affiliates, the surviving partner would be accepted into the Templar house. It should be noted that the Master of Italy assigned the management of the entire San Calocero estate to Robaldo in return for an annuity. The fact that the Albenga house was then managed by Robaldo Marabotto is attested to in a number of subsequent documents, in which he is recorded as accepting donations and carrying out economic transactions in the Temple's name.⁵³ It is not unlikely that the aforementioned *conversus* Oberto had fulfilled similar roles previously.

The first actual mention of the Order's Vercelli house dates from 1179⁵⁴ and, on an unspecified date, Guala I Bicchieri,⁵⁵ crusader and high-ranking member of the city's ruling caste, became affiliated to the Temple.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 795, p. 427.

⁵¹ *I Libri Iurium*, I/1, doc. 247, p. 355; Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Manuscript 535, *Pandette Richeriane*, p. 490; *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192)*, eds. M.W. Hall, H.C. Krueger, R.L. Reynolds, 2 vols., *Notai genovesi del sec. XII 2* (Genoa, 1938), I, doc. 959, p. 380.

⁵² Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49.

⁵³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 50–51, 66.

⁵⁴ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, doc. 15, p. 232.

⁵⁵ "I necrologi eusebiani", ed. G. Colombo, *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 2 (1897), no. 172, p. 383.

⁵⁶ R. Pasté, "Per la storia dei Vercellesi crociati in Terra Santa", *Archivio della Società Vercellese di Storia e Arte*, 4 (1915), p. 262; C.D. Fonseca, "Ricerche sulla famiglia

Several new houses of the Order were attested to between 1164 and the end of the century. These were the convents of Ruspaglia (1164), Mezzano Chiantolo (1164), Cremona (1165), Piacenza (1172), Ivrea (1179), Acqui (1186) and Testona-Moncalieri (c. 1196).⁵⁷ Most of the houses recorded for the first time in this period were in what is now Piedmont and, right from the earliest references, can be seen to be firmly rooted in local society in different ways. It is thus likely that they had been founded some time before. In this period the Temple was already present in the vicinity of Pavia, but it is not known whether the mention of an affiliate to the Order in this area, in 1177, refers to the convents of Pavia or Casei Gerola. A dispute over the ownership of the Humiliati house of *Calventia*, near Tortona, occupied by the Templars, confirms the existence of the *domus* of Casei in 1200. The following year the Order was attested to in Pavia.⁵⁸

The first records of the Temple in the Cremona area date back to 1165.⁵⁹ In 1193 the Cremona house was entrusted with the cure of souls.⁶⁰ This was decided by the local bishop Siccard on a purely spiritual level so as not to interfere significantly with the official parochial functions of the nearby Ognissanti monastery. The authorisation seems to have been motivated in response to a need expressed by a group of worshippers who usually congregated within the Templar community. The provenance of the witnesses present at the drawing up of the deed further underlines the scope of this measure, intended mainly for those living in the vicinity of the Templar house. Finally, it is not by chance that the measure was enacted by bishop Siccard, a person of considerable intellectual stature, linked to the Holy Land and the Crusades.⁶¹

The practice of pastoral activities by Military Orders was also the subject of a dispute in this period involving the Templars, the Hospi-

Bicchieri e la società vercellese dei secoli XII e XIII”, in *Contributi dell’Istituto di Storia medievale I. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Giovanni Soranzo* (Milan, 1968), pp. 211–216.

⁵⁷ Note that also the house of *Villa Mausonii* may have been established in this period.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 37 and Part II, pp. 292–293.

⁵⁹ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, ed. L. Astegiano, 2 vols., HPM 21 (Turin, 1895–1898), I, doc. 219, p. 131, doc. 258, p. 137, doc. 358, pp. 151–152; *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII–XII*, ed. E. Falconi, 4 vols. (Cremona, 1979–1988), III, doc. 417, p. 26, doc. 453, p. 85.

⁶⁰ L. Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti dei Templari a Nice e Grasse*, in *Lombardia e Veneto* (Milan, 1999), pp. 99–100.

⁶¹ Tantardini, “I Templari”, pp. 279–288. For Siccard of Cremona see E. Brocchieri, *Sicardo da Cremona e la sua opera letteraria* (Cremona, 1958).

tallers of Acqui and the local church authorities. In 1186 Urban III forbade members of the Temple and the Hospital from performing parochial functions in zones of the city and suburbs under the jurisdiction of others.⁶² Here too, the action of the two Orders may have been encouraged by the positive reaction of the faithful to these institutions.

The first reference to the Templar house at Piacenza dates back to 1172.⁶³ By then the Piacenza *mansio* had definitely existed for some time and had acquired an important role in local society. It was in the Templar church of Santa Maria that the people of Piacenza met in 1185 to elect some *rectores*.⁶⁴ In records from 1180 and 1195 there are references to a local *consorcium Templi* and a hospital⁶⁵ belonging to the Order. Piacenza was one of the main junctions in the northern Italian road network and this might make the existence of a Templar hospital there more likely. It should be stressed, however, that there are no further records of this hospital, nor is it known with certainty whether the *consorcium Templi* was actually active in this field, as is suggested by the fact that it was referred to along with other care and shelter facilities.

The possible inclination of the Temple to increase the charitable services which, according to its own Rule, it was expected to offer, was further documented thanks to the assignment of the hospital of Sant'Egidio in Testona to the Order at the bishop of Turin's behest. This decision was related not only to the need to get the hospice working again after the damage it had suffered in the past, but also to the prelate of Turin's territorial control policy, which in this case was aimed at keeping episcopal control over the important crossing of the Po where the house stood. At the same time, the fact that the bishop chose the Temple for this task shows that he saw it as a reliable institution.

Despite the fact that the Templar communities were apparently becoming more and more active in various local situations, the donations and bequests made to them that are recorded in the sources are few. In 1160, in Bergamo, Gerardo Moizonius ordered that his arms

⁶² *Monumenta Aquensia*, ed. G.B. Moriondo, 3 vols. (Turin, 1789, repr. 1967, ed. C.F. Savio), I, doc. 66, col. 84; IP, IV, p. 195.

⁶³ *Le carte degli archivi piacentini del sec. XII*, ed. G. Drei, 3 vols. (Parma, 1950), III, doc. 419, pp. 338–339.

⁶⁴ They oversaw the election of the *podestà*. Giovanni Codagnello, *Chronicon Placentinum ab anno MXII. ad annum MCCXXXV.*, in *Chronica tria Placentina a Johanne Codagnello, ab anonymo et a Guerino conscripta* (Parma, 1859), pp. 15–16.

⁶⁵ P.M. Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, 3 vols. (Piacenza, 1651, repr. 1995), II, pp. 52, 78.

should go to the Temple when he died.⁶⁶ Two years later, in the same town, Giovanni Camerario expressed the same wish.⁶⁷ These bequests underline that these people clearly saw the Temple as having military aims. The significance of the donation confirmed in 1164 by the counts of Biandrate is more complex. It included all the property they owned *in loco et fundo Sancti Georgii de Canaveso, et ejus territorio, et quae jacent ad locum ubi Ruspalia dicitur*.⁶⁸ The high regard shown by the Biandrates for the Military Order was partly related to the links they had established with the Latin East during two crusades. On the Second Crusade in particular, the family must have come into direct contact with the part of the Order fighting in the Holy Land.⁶⁹ At the same time, this donation was probably also related to the similar political positions held by the Biandrate family and the Lombard Templars in the struggle between the communes, the papacy and the emperor Barbarossa.⁷⁰

Further donations come to light in the following decade. In May 1173 the previously mentioned Robaldo Marabotto in Albenga received a donation of a plot of land from Caita, daughter of the late Domenico, on behalf of the Temple.⁷¹ In 1175 a small legacy was left to the Templar house of Bergamo by Mainfredo, son of the late Nicola de Surlasco.⁷² And then between 1179 and 1181, in Savona, one will was made that refers to the *Templum*,⁷³ whereas several other bequests were vaguely made to the *Templum Domini*,⁷⁴ which could also have been referring to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

The legacies and donations listed come from different areas and are spread more or less evenly throughout the period of time being considered. Unfortunately, they do not give us any valid clues about the

⁶⁶ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 86–87.

⁶⁷ G. Antonucci, “Il testamento di Giovanni Camerario”, *Bergomum*, 9 (1935), pp. 140–141.

⁶⁸ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentilium suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fols. 32^v–33^v. For the correct dating of the deed see below, Chapter IV, pp. 130–131.

⁶⁹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CC.CM 63–63a (Turnhout, 1976), II, p. 760.

⁷⁰ See below, pp. 32–37.

⁷¹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 50–51.

⁷² Bellomo, “Una mansione”, doc. 2, pp. 194–196.

⁷³ *Il Cartulario d'Arnaldo Cumano e Giovanni di Donato (Savona, 1178–1188)*, eds. L. Balletto, G. Cencetti, G. Orlandelli, B.M. Pisoni Agnoli, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato 96 (Rome, 1978), part II, doc. 546, p. 283.

⁷⁴ *Il Cartulario d'Arnaldo Cumano*, part II, doc. 484, p. 242, doc. 501, p. 251, doc. 545, p. 282, doc. 880, p. 459.

relationships that had formed between the Temple and local society. Besides, with so little material, it is impossible to know what effect events in the Holy Land had, especially the fall of Jerusalem (1187), on the way the Order was perceived in North-west Italy. The only thing that can be linked to what was happening in Outremer was the transfer of the Templar house of Albenga to the local bishop in 1191. This transaction will be looked at the end of the chapter.

The impression that one gets from this brief description, albeit based on very fragmentary documentation, is that the Order had managed to put itself in a good position in the various local contexts. Its network of houses meant that it was solidly established at regional level. Its contacts with a range of political and ecclesiastical figures that were active in the area were positive. Unfortunately, the records are full of gaps and there is not enough information to know whether the Temple started to perform charitable work in a more significant way in this period.

3. *Templar houses in the thirteenth century*

Twenty-seven new Templar houses are cited in documents of the thirteenth century. Because of the fragmentary nature of the references, the founding dates of these convents are almost never mentioned and, as they are usually described as already being well-established and accepted in local society, it is also possible that they were founded in the previous century. New attestations of previously unknown Templar houses in the fourteenth century are very rare. A census of convents based on thirteenth century documents could therefore be considered a significant step towards constructing a general picture of the presence of the Order in North-west Italy.

The new houses were mostly in the Piedmont area, where, thanks also to the greater number of the documents found, it has been possible to identify an increasingly abundant network of convents, positioned either in the immediate suburbs of larger towns or in the countryside. The houses noted in this area were Alba (1200), Asti (1203), Gorra (1203), Turin (1203), Susa (1204), Livorno Ferraris (1208), *Calventia* (after 1215),⁷⁵ Savigliano (1217), Novara (1222), *Crixanus* (1226), *Solerus*

⁷⁵ We do not know the exact date when the Temple went back to this house. The dispute over its ownership was settled in 1200, although in 1215 the pope was still urging

(1227), Paciliano (1228), Casale Monferrato (1240), Murello (1245), Mondovì (1247), Tortona (1252), Alessandria (1268). In Liguria the houses mentioned were Ventimiglia (1256) and Osiglia (1267). In the present-day Lombardy area the first definite references to the houses of Pavia (1201),⁷⁶ Brescia (1222), Torricella Verzate (1227) and Montesordo di Cermenate (1281) were found. In Emilia there were the houses of Fiorenzuola d'Arda (1210), Cabriolo (1227), Cerro (1230) and San Nicolò (1244).

Unfortunately, though, the increase in the number of documented Templar houses was not matched by a parallel increase in recorded donations. For this century we have only six will bequests, often quite small. Two of these date from 1227. In the last will and testament of Crescencio, canon and master of the church of Sant'Alessandro, Santa Maria del Tempio was mentioned along with many other churches in the city.⁷⁷ This legacy is not particularly big and is not even dedicated specifically to the Military Order's houses. In the same year the last will and testament of Cardinal Guala II Bicchieri was made, who left a legacy to the Templar church of Vercelli, San Giacomo d'Albareto. This confirms the relationship that Guala I Bicchieri's previous affiliation had created between this noble family and the Temple.⁷⁸ The other legacies traced were left by laymen. In Genoa in 1201 Raisa, the wife of Vassallo Cicala, donated twenty *lire* to the works that the Templars were doing in the church of Santa Fede, while in 1214 Giovanni da Voltaggio, perhaps a relative of the Hospitaller preceptor Guglielmo, left a small legacy to the same church.⁷⁹ In 1235 Bonifacio Ruxano, a knight from Piacenza, left his arms and the proceeds from the sale of his horse to the Temple.⁸⁰ In 1249 Zaccaria de Mari, perhaps a member of an influential Genoese family, expressed the wish that his house should be left *Templo de Ultramar*.⁸¹

the bishop of Tortona to return *tam mobilia quam immobilia iura* of the *Calventia* house to the Templars. See below, notes 84–85.

⁷⁶ The 1181 mention of a *deditus mansionis de Templo* in the Casei area could also refer to an affiliate of the Pavia house, but unfortunately we are not certain of this. *Le carte di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro di Pavia*, eds. E. Barbieri, M.A. Casagrande Mazzoli, E. Cau, 2 vols. (Pavia–Milan, 1984), II, 1165–1190, doc. 137, p. 226.

⁷⁷ Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 4, pp. 196–201.

⁷⁸ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 51; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento* (Rome, 1980), pp. 4–6, 110–120.

⁷⁹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 4, 7.

⁸⁰ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico, no. 1685.

⁸¹ Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Giovanni de Predono, cartulario 18,

In this period the unfortunately small number of legacies traced also make it impossible to form a judgement on what repercussions the failed ventures in the Holy Land may have had in North-west Italy, both before and after Acre fell into Muslim hands (1291).

Good relations persisted, however, between the Temple and certain parts of secular society. The most significant example of this was found in Milan, where a *scola mansionis Templi* appeared in 1226, represented by two *decani*, a layman and the preceptor of the local Templar house.⁸² On the basis of this, albeit single, reference, the confraternity would seem to be comparable to other institutes in Milan, born from the joint efforts of laymen and the church with the common intent of playing a noteworthy role in the field of charitable activities.⁸³

Of significance in this field was the action of the Master of Lombardy Barozio, who in all probability can be identified as the Templar dignitary who took possession of the Humiliati house of *Calventia*, but who then failed to observe the conditions stipulated in the transaction. Because of this an angry dispute arose, attested to in 1200, with the prelate of Tortona, who had to endorse the change of administration.⁸⁴ The Templar officer's behaviour was censured, but the Temple was assigned the disputed house anyway.⁸⁵ Subsequently, Barozio was also assigned the hospital of Sant'Eustachio in Pavia.⁸⁶ According to the few documents in our possession, this dignitary seemed to have encouraged the expansion of the Order around Pavia, Lomello and Tortona, a key crossroads area in the heart of the Po Valley. Finally, it should not be forgotten that the house of *Calventia* may also have been attached to a hospital.

The by now substantial presence of the Temple in the region is also confirmed by the growing number of disagreements that occurred between the Order and various local institutions, both ecclesiastical and

fol. 351^r; S.A. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa. 1150–1250* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 133. For the de Mari family see J.-A. Cancellieri, "De Mari", *DBI* 38 (Rome, 1990), pp. 478–499. In 1249 Beltramo de Dureca asked to be buried *iuxta ecclesiam sancte Fidei*. Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Giovanni de Predono, cartulario 18, fol. 351^r.

⁸² Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 69–70.

⁸³ See below, Chapters II and III, pp. 72–73, 127.

⁸⁴ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, eds. E. Friedberg, E.L. Richter, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* 2 (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1879), l. II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

⁸⁵ *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, 2 vols. (Osnabrück, 1968), I, p. 61, no. 190.

⁸⁶ Robolini, *Notizie*, IV, p. 68.

civil. Unfortunately, references to these disputes in the documents are often partial and fleeting, and sometimes nothing is said on the matter behind the disputes or how they were resolved. In some cases, though, it is clear that the way the Templar churches attracted the faithful led to protests from other ecclesiastical institutions that were being deprived of their role and losing a significant source of income. Friction of this kind occurred in Fiorenzuola d'Arda where, in 1211, a number of the faithful decided to protest to the pope about the prohibition on attending divine office in the *paupercola ecclesia Templi*.⁸⁷ Three years later the men of Fiorenzuola were granted the right to be buried in this church.⁸⁸

A few years after that, in January 1217, Honorius III gave his own legate the task of settling a dispute that had arisen between three priests, one of whom was a Templar, and the cathedral chapter of Alba. All we know about it is that the three presbyters were accused of having overreached the limits of their ministry.⁸⁹ The fragmentary nature of the evidence prevents any further observations on the pastoral activities of the Temple and the reaction of other ecclesiastical institutions. In the above cases, though, the very presence of the Templars seemed to give rise to misunderstandings and conflicts related quite simply to rivalry between ecclesiastical bodies working in the same area.

At local level some of the conflicts between the Temple and other ecclesiastical institutions arose over the levying of tithes and entitlements to will bequests. In 1228 a dispute over the collection of tithes occurred between the Templars, some clerics and laymen and Giovanni, priest of Sarmato, who claimed that his rights had been transgressed.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, we have no information on how this dispute ended. In 1272 there was an argument in Bergamo over the entitlement to will bequests. The Templars had in fact been granted the papal privilege of receiving a part of the sums left in wills for charitable causes (alms for the poor in general, payments from the commutation of crusade vows, repayments from usury or thefts of money, etc.).⁹¹ As

⁸⁷ "Le pergamene ritrovate", eds. G. Manfredi, C. Dondi, in *I Templari a Piacenza. Le tracce di un mito* (Piacenza, 1995), pp. 85–86.

⁸⁸ "Le pergamene ritrovate", pp. 87–89.

⁸⁹ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 139.

⁹⁰ *Documenti degli archivi di Pavia relativi alla storia di Voghera (929–1300)*, ed. L.C. Bollea, BSSS 46 (Pinerolo, 1910), docs. 97–98, pp. 254–255, docs. 99–100, pp. 255–257.

⁹¹ *Malteser Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Tempelherren und der Johanniter*, ed. H. Prutz (Munich, 1883), doc. 260, pp. 60–61; A. Spicciani, "Papa Innocenzo IV e i

regards the Bergamo dispute, we know that the Templars lost against the provost of the local church and were forbidden from taking the surplus from the alms donated on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Guala da Brescia, bishop of Bergamo (1168–1186).⁹² Taking possession of these sums could also be difficult in the case of bequests of laymen, as seen in a subsequent dispute (1276–1278), again in Bergamo, but which this time was won by the Temple.⁹³ Tensions over the entitlement to these sums persisted, and arose yet again in 1283 when pope Martin IV had to order the master and brethren of the Templar house of Mondovì to desist from prosecuting the Friars Minor over the collection of these kinds of legacies.⁹⁴

As well as conflicts, however, there is also evidence of positive relations with other religious bodies and the episcopate. Often it is the presence of Templar brethren as witnesses that attests to the existence of relations between the Order and other ecclesiastical institutions, especially the Cistercians.⁹⁵ Of significance was the granting of the hospital of San Giacomo in Tortona to the Temple in 1252, which signalled that the tensions between the episcopate and the Military Order over the house of *Calventia* had finally been resolved.⁹⁶

In the same way, the Temple's relations with the civil authorities in North-west Italy were variable, alternating between cooperation and conflict. These relationships were often affected by the politics, settlement strategies and property administration plans of the local communes.

In several cases local authorities showed great interest in Templar estates, which were often particularly well located and carefully administered. This, for example, was what happened with the house of San Martino in Gorra. The great attraction of the Templar possessions here

Templari", in G. Minucci, F. Sardi, eds., *I Templari. Mito e storia*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi alla Magione di Poggibonsi, Siena, 29–31 maggio 1987 (Siena, 1989), pp. 52–53; J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land. Financing the Latin East. 1187–1274* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 28, 117–118.

⁹² C.F. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origini al 1300 descritti per regioni. La Lombardia*, 2 vols. (Florence–Bergamo, 1913–1932), I/2, p. 110; Ronchetti, *Memorie*, III, pp. 318–319.

⁹³ Bellomo, "Una mansione", docs. 5–6, pp. 201–204.

⁹⁴ Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 9, pp. 169–170; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 516–517.

⁹⁵ See below, Chapter IV, pp. ■.

⁹⁶ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Tortona*, eds. F. Gabotto, V. Legè, A. Patrucco, A. Colombo, 2 vols., BSSS 29–30 (Pinerolo, 1905–1907), II, doc. 532, p. 209; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 706–707.

was their proximity to local water courses. The nearby commune of Chieri, which had decided to take control of the water courses in the area, planned to found a new settlement that would guarantee access to the waters of the Stellone and Po.⁹⁷ To bring this project to fruition it bought quite a large piece of the Temple's land in Gorra (1203), whilst allowing the Order to retain a presence in the sold area. The Temple, though, planned to maintain its own independent convent, in the hope that the new village, in which the Order would preside over the cure of souls, would exert a positive influence on the house. These hopes were not realised, however, and a long dispute ensued.⁹⁸

Relations between the Order and the commune of Testona were equally variable. In the period between 1204 and 1227 the commune of Testona moved into new headquarters in the area of Moncalieri, the village that had formed around the Templar hospital of Sant'Egidio. The populating of this area had probably been encouraged not only by the proximity of the bridge over the Po, but also by the far-sighted administrative policy of the Temple that had increased the value of its property there.⁹⁹ This situation, however, did not prevent the development of a dispute between the Temple and the commune at Moncalieri too (1254), about which, unfortunately, we have no precise information.¹⁰⁰

A last example of Templar properties getting caught up in the expansionist schemes of a nearby political entity happened in Murello. In 1251 Innocent IV notified the Grand Master of the Temple that he had prohibited the Master of Lombardy from handing over the house of Murello to Asti.¹⁰¹ Evidently, the commune of Asti wanted to bring this important control point on the routes to the Alpine passes and Liguria into its sphere of influence. The willingness of the Templar Master of Lombardy to transfer this house seems to suggest that the Order and the commune of Asti were quite close. In fact the Montferrat area was one of the main thirteenth-century recruiting grounds for local Order dignitaries, and quite a number of the Temple's administrative policies

⁹⁷ See below, Chapter IV and Part II, pp. 161–168, 245–247, 303 ff.

⁹⁸ *Il «Libro Rosso» del comune di Chieri*, eds. F. Gabotto, F. Guasco di Bisio, BSSS 75 (Pinerolo, 1918), docs. 45–48, pp. 80–93.

⁹⁹ See below, Chapter IV and Part II, pp. 163–165, 286–288.

¹⁰⁰ *Documenti sulle relazioni commerciali fra Asti e Genova (1182–1310) con appendice documentaria sulle relazioni commerciali fra Asti e l'Occidente (1181–1312)*, ed. G. Rosso, BSSS 72 (Pinerolo, 1913), doc. 456, pp. 178–179; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 497, note 421.

¹⁰¹ *Chartarum tomus I*, HPM 1 (Turin, 1836), doc. 951, cols. 1406–1407.

were in agreement with those of Asti. This agreement with Asti can also be seen in relation to the Hospital, which actually had the centre of its priory of Lombardy in the Montferrat area. From an administrative point of view as well, the Asti area could have been one of the initial centres of the Templar province of Lombardy. In the thirteenth century, though, it was superseded by the Emilian houses of the Order.¹⁰²

In the course of the thirteenth century the Temple consolidated and expanded its positions. The number of its houses grew to form a network all over the area, in the main towns and at major junctions in the road network, but also in rural areas that were increasing in value. The conflicts that arose with ecclesiastical and civil institutions are in fact a sign of the Order's active presence in a local context, where the Temple strived to realise its full potential.

4. *Between papacy and secular powers:
where the Lombard Templars stood*¹⁰³

The geographical locations of the Templar houses in North-west Italy led to their automatic involvement in the ongoing conflict between the two higher mediaeval authorities, papacy and empire. Here too, the data in our possession are few and sometimes not easily interpretable. However, by studying the information on the series of events in the rivalry between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* and matching it to the facts we have on the Hospital, we are able to clarify, at least partially, the nature of the Temple's involvement in this struggle.

This is what we know: in 1158 Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, when laying siege to Milan, set up base at the local Templar house, outside the city walls near Porta Romana.¹⁰⁴ In 1160 the master of the Templar house of Rome *cum suis fratribus* declared his support for Victor IV,

¹⁰² See below, Chapter III, pp. 114–118.

¹⁰³ This section is not intended as a general picture of relations between the Temple and the papacy and nor as an evaluation of relations between the Order's Italian foundations and popes. It looks at data from North-west Italy only, comparing it with information from further afield only when a better understanding is needed.

¹⁰⁴ *Narratio de Lombardie obpressione et subiectione*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, in F.-J. Schmale, *Italische Quellen über die Taten Kaiser Friedrichs I. in Italien und der Brief über den Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs I.* (Darmstadt, 1986), p. 258; Otto Morena and continuators, *Libellus de rebus a Frederico imperatore gestis*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, *ibid.*, p. 84.

the antipope supported by the Emperor.¹⁰⁵ Four years later the counts of Biandrate bequeathed a large legacy to the Temple¹⁰⁶ and in 1167 Bonifacio, the Templar master of Lombardy, was in Jerusalem at the same time as a pilgrimage of a large number of German nobles. On behalf of the Grand Master, he had previously concluded the sale of some Templar estates in Germany to Otto of Wittelsbach,¹⁰⁷ faithful supporter of Barbarossa. The sale was ratified in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁸

Already, from this simple list of facts, a picture seems to emerge of the Lombard Templars leaning towards the imperial party, for a period lasting at least from 1158 to 1167. Barbarossa's choice of headquarters in the siege of Milan may be the first significant factor in this, whereas the Roman Templar community's support for Victor IV was related to strictly local factors, explainable by the Templars' need not to be shut out in a town that, at least initially, sided with Victor IV.¹⁰⁹

In this period the bitter struggle between the Emperor and his rivals saw Barbarossa imposing himself on Milan and its allies, thanks also to the support of a significant part of the northern Italian episcopate. Although the actual extent of the relationship between the imperial party and the Military Order is not known, the Templars seemed to have the same viewpoints as those widely held in Lombard ecclesiastical circles.¹¹⁰ Against this background, the reasons that led the Biandrate family, at that time close to Barbarossa, to bequest all their property in

¹⁰⁵ Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1974), p. 674.

¹⁰⁶ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentiliū suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fols. 32^v–33^v.

¹⁰⁷ For Otto of Wittelsbach see F. Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa* (Darmstadt, 1990), pp. 52, 58, 60–62, 68, 96, 130, 237, 258.

¹⁰⁸ H. Grauert, "Eine Tempelherrenurkunde von 1167", *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 3 (1878), pp. 294–295; RRH, no. 446, p. 116; M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolimitani Magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens. 1118/9–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), p. 370.

¹⁰⁹ Ciannamarconi, "L'ordine templare", p. 55.

¹¹⁰ O. Capitani, "Alessandro III, lo scisma e le diocesi dell'Italia settentrionale", in *Popolo e Stato in Italia nell'Età di Federico Barbarossa. Alessandria e la Lega Lombarda*. Relazioni e comunicazioni al XXXIII Congresso Storico Subalpino per la celebrazione dell'VIII centenario della fondazione di Alessandria, Alessandria, 6–9 ottobre 1968 (Turin, 1970), p. 232ff. The Temple and some of its exponents are referred to in deeds relevant to the area in question and issued by Frederick I or members of his entourage. *Friderici I. Diplomata inde ab a. MCLXXXI. usque ad a. MCXC.*, ed. H. Appelt, MGH, *Diplomata Regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 10/4 (Hanover, 1990), doc. 887, pp. 134–135, doc. 3, pp. 495–496, doc. 7, p. 501, doc. 9, p. 503.

San Giorgio Canavese to the Templars, an Order that seemed to share their political viewpoint, are easier to explain.

The last reference which infers good relations between the Lombard Templars and the imperial party is dated 1167. As mentioned previously, it was in the spring of this year that Bonifacio, the Templar master of Lombardy, was party to a deed drawn up in Jerusalem. Bonifacio had been given the task of completing the sale of some Templar properties to Otto of Wittelsbach. The document confirming the sale was drafted in Jerusalem and was signed by forty or so German nobles who were in the Holy Land on an Easter pilgrimage. Amongst these were Welf VI of Bavaria and Frederick of Wittelsbach, Otto's elder brother.¹¹¹ It may have been the case that Bonifacio went to the East in the company of these exponents of the imperial party and that the relationships he previously formed with them led to him being entrusted with overseeing the sale.¹¹²

During the same period the Hospitallers of North-west Italy had similar relations with imperial circles. In 1176 Frederick I granted the district of Inverno Monteleone to the Hospital.¹¹³ His ally, William V of Montferrat, had previously been a patron of a Hospitaller house in Felizzano.¹¹⁴ Finally, in the Asti area, reference is made to important relations between the Knights of St. John and Enrico di Quattordio, a member of the local nobility linked to Barbarossa and his court.¹¹⁵

Note, though, that as early as 1162 Alexander III had ratified the privileges granted to the Temple.¹¹⁶ Further, he was served by Templar

¹¹¹ Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris, appendix annorum 1160–1170*, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH, SS 20 (Hanover, 1868), p. 492. For Frederick of Wittelsbach see K. Feldmann, *Herzog Welf VI. und sein Sohn. Das Ende des süddeutschen Welfenhauses* (Tübingen, 1971), pp. 30–101; Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa, ad indicem*. For the pilgrimages of the lords of Bavaria to the Holy Land see R. Röhrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1878, repr. 1967), II, pp. 104–129, 298, 312, 321, 352, 365.

¹¹² It appears unlikely that the German lands were formally subject to the direction of the preceptor of Lombardy, as suggested in M. Schüpferling, *Der Tempelherren-Orden in Deutschland* (Bamberg, 1915), p. 70.

¹¹³ *Friderici I. Diplomata*, X/3, doc. 647, pp. 148–149.

¹¹⁴ *Cartario alessandrino fino al 1300*, ed. F. Gasparolo, 3 vols., BSSS 113, 115, 117 (Turin, 1928–1930), doc. 82, p. 110; R. Bordone, “San Pietro di Consavia e il priorato di Lombardia nel Medioevo”, in Bordone, Crosetto, Tosco, eds., *L'antico San Pietro*, p. 46.

¹¹⁵ Bordone assumed that Enrico di Quattordio's donation to the Hospitaller house of Asti had been “suggested” in imperial circles. R. Bordone, “I cavalieri di San Giovanni ad Asti e nel Monferrato”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, p. 342.

¹¹⁶ Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 70–73. For the measures taken by this pope regarding the Temple see *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, I, docs. 37–142, pp. 241–334, II, docs. 13–42, pp. 216–260.

camerarii at this point. In fact, the treasurers Bernardo and Francone belonged to the Temple and in this period the Curia assigned important money transfer duties to some of their brethren.¹¹⁷ These facts, however, concern relationships between the papacy and the Order in general.

The first and only reference to positive relations between the Lombard section of the Order and Alexander III, conversely, dates from 1169. This was the year when the pope confirmed *Bonifatio magistro et fratribus militie templi in Lombardia* the ownership of the church, hospital and estate of Santo Stefano in Reggio Emilia, granted to the Temple but then claimed by the abbot of Frassinoro.¹¹⁸ There were several other measures taken by Alexander III regarding Italian Templar houses. In 1173 the pope granted the church of San Paterniano in Ceprano to the Templars¹¹⁹ and in 1178 he instructed the bishops and prelates of some southern provinces to refrain from demanding a quarter of the Templars' alms.¹²⁰ Then, in 1178–1179, Alexander confirmed the Order's ownership of the church of Sant'Angelo de Canutio.¹²¹ In the same period he assigned the bishop of Vicenza the task of settling a dispute over parish boundaries between the Templars of San Vitale in Verona and the local cathedral chapter. This dispute dragged on into the reign of pope Luke III.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Cf. *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, II, doc. 24b, p. 235; *Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine*, eds. P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, 3 vols., BEF, II ser. (Paris, 1889–1952), I, no. 122, p. 402, no. 125, p. 404b; B. Rusch, *Die Behörden und Hofbeamten der päpstlichen Kurie des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Königsberg, 1936), p. 205; I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy. 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 257–259; M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, "Templer in königlichen und päpstlichen Diensten", in P. Classen, P. Scheibert, eds., *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1964), I, p. 301; Ciammaruconi, "L'ordine templare", pp. 65–66.

¹¹⁸ G. Tiraboschi, *Memorie storiche modenesi col Codice diplomatico*, 5 vols. (Modena, 1793–1795), III, doc. 446, p. 54; Potthast, no. 11659; IP, V, no. 1, p. 377.

¹¹⁹ IP, II, nos. 4–5, pp. 174–175; Ciammaruconi, "L'ordine templare", pp. 60–61.

¹²⁰ IP, VIII, no. 215, p. 55, IX, no. 4, p. 144.

¹²¹ H. Houben, "Templari e Teutonici nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo", in G. Musca, ed., *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate*. Atti delle quattordicesime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 17–20 ottobre 2000 (Bari, 2002), p. 261; Ciammaruconi, "L'ordine templare", pp. 62–64. In the Ceprano district there was also the Templar church of Sant'Egidio de Pantano. Ciammaruconi, "L'ordine templare", pp. 64–66. The harsh resolution passed against the Temple and the Hospital in the Third Lateran Council, mitigated by Alexander III, should not be forgotten. Hefele, Leclercq, *Histoires*, V/2, pp. 1095–1096.

¹²² IP, VII/1, nos. 1–3, pp. 265–266.

Papal records thus provide no evidence of disagreements between pope and Templars. In 1169, at least, the Lombard Templars even had a positive occasion for contact with the pontiff. Their brethren in central and southern Italy, however, had more continuous relations with papal circles.

If there was actually a change in the position of the Lombard Templars between 1167 and 1169 this too may have been linked to the events of the schism. We know that initially some members of the Order had pledged their support to the antipope, Victor IV. The fact that the Lombard Templars still had relations with exponents of the imperial party in 1167 could lead one to assume that they also supported the next antipope, Paschal III, who died in September 1168. After this date, however, the Temple in Lombardy may have started to distance itself from the third antipope, Calixtus III, who submitted to Alexander in 1177.¹²³ Besides, in 1167 Barbarossa's power suffered a heavy blow. After his imperial coronation, his army was decimated by a plague and it was only with great difficulty that the Emperor managed to withdraw from Italy intact.¹²⁴

At the same time, from 1167 to 1170, new bishops loyal to the cause of Alexander came to power in sees previously affiliated to the imperial party, such as those of Como, Novara, Cremona, Lodi, Bergamo, Mantua and Turin. This phenomenon was partly due to the skilful and tenacious political work of Galdinus della Sala, archbishop of Milan, who had managed to significantly weaken the imperial party's power in the church.¹²⁵ In the period around 1170 relations between several bishops and Alexander III were intensifying and becoming ever more direct and well-documented, at the expense of those with the court of Frederick. The northern Italian episcopate was thus changing its allegiances. This was also related to the decline in its influence compared to what it had been at the start of the schism.¹²⁶

The Temple too seemed to be adapting to this new political situation, aligning its actions with those of the more important bishoprics in the Lombardy area. And so, during the rift between Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa, what seemed to influence the actions of the dif-

¹²³ J. Laudage, *Alexander III. und Friedrich Barbarossa*, Forschungen zur Kaiser und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters 16 (Köln, 1997), p. 231 ff.

¹²⁴ Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, pp. 94–101; Laudage, *Alexander III.*, pp. 183–185.

¹²⁵ A. Ambrosioni, "Alessandro III e la Chiesa ambrosiana", in F. Liotta, ed., *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli, papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986), pp. 30–31.

¹²⁶ Capitani, "Alessandro III", p. 236.

ferent Italian Templar communities most was their geographical location. Apart from the deed of 1169 and the judgement of Verona against the Templars (not directly attributable to Alexander), all the other documents issued by the pope regarding the Order referred to central or southern Italian houses. Although there may have been a rapprochement between the Lombard Temple and the pope, support for Alexander's cause amongst other members of the Order was very likely to have been more consistent and continuous.

Following this, no specific mentions of direct relations between popes and Templar houses in North-west Italy occur in the records until the time of Innocent III.¹²⁷ Innocent knew the Master of Lombardy, Barozio, personally, and Guglielmo (perhaps master of Sicily and *Apulia*) was a *familiaris* of the pope.¹²⁸ According to the documents in our possession, the first contacts between Barozio and Innocent III can be dated to 1200, the year in which a dispute between the Temple and the bishop of Tortona over the house of *Calventia* was settled by the pope.¹²⁹ In the papal decree the name of the Master of Lombardy involved in the quarrel is abbreviated to the initial B. Since Barozio was Master of Lombardy in 1201, he can be identified as the dignitary mentioned in the document.¹³⁰ As has already been outlined, his unscrupulous conduct was condemned but, in the end, the house in question was still assigned to the Military Order.¹³¹ Later on, Barozio, who had joined the Fourth Crusade, was given the task of notifying the pope of the taking of Constantinople and the birth of the new Latin Empire.¹³² The nature of this delicate task bears out the fact that this was a person

¹²⁷ The Order's privileges were however ratified and a number of papal documents were issued to protect its Italian possessions and houses. Of significance was the presence of Grand Master Arnaldo de Torroja in Italy, who went to the court of Luke III in Verona, where he died. Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 102–103.

¹²⁸ *Die register Innocenz' III.*, eds. O. Hageneder, A. Härdacher *et alii*, 9 vols. (Graz–Köln–Vienna–Rome, 1964–2004), V, docs. 20–21, pp. 41–43; Houben, “Templari”, p. 265. For other Templars linked to the pope's court see Bulst-Thiele, “Templer”, p. 301.

¹²⁹ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, I, II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

¹³⁰ Robolini, *Notizie*, IV, p. 68. Here it is incorrectly stated that Barozio was “gran maestro dei Templari”.

¹³¹ *Vetera monumenta Slavorum*, I, p. 61, no. 190. See also above, p. 28.

¹³² *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 147, p. 235, doc. 152, p. 262. For the conception of the crusade of Innocent III see J. Sayers, *Innocent III. Leader of Europe* (London–New York, 1994), pp. 164–188; A. Sommerlechner, ed., *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*. Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998, 2 vols., *Nuovi Studi Storici* 55 (Rome, 2003), *passim*; J.C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216). To Root up and to Plant* (Leiden–Boston, 2003), pp. 44–48, 102 ff.; Bronstein, *The Hospitallers*, pp. 106–107.

who was well accepted in the papal court. Unfortunately, the surviving documents give us no further information on Barozio's role in this expedition.

In 1204 the Templars were also bearers of a papal missive to the people of Piacenza, with the pope specifying that this did not mean that the city, under an interdict due to a conflict between the commune and the local prelate, could consider itself absolved of the ruling. Furthermore, the pope did not remember that letter and thought that he had been asked to issue it before the excommunication.¹³³ The lack of further evidence prevents ascertaining whether the conduct of the Piacenza Templars was ambiguous and if they were trying to assist the local commune in this difficult situation. However, one is left with the impression that in this area local connections still exerted a significant influence on the Temple's allegiances. Later on Innocent III clearly consented to Templar preceptors acting in legal cases, especially those regarding the Order's Italian houses.¹³⁴

In all likelihood the *cubicularius* Francone, mentioned in the sources during the pontificate of Innocent III, was a member of the Temple.¹³⁵ Under Gregory IX (1227–1241) and Innocent IV (1243–1254), more Templar brethren appear amongst the papal *cubicularii*. One of these was Bonvicino, who was assigned a number of important tasks, especially in the struggle between Alexander IV and Manfred, son of Frederick II.¹³⁶

The *cubicularii* belonged to the innermost circle of the pope's entourage¹³⁷ and, as well as being papal escorts, had a wide range of ceremonial functions.¹³⁸ They slept close to the door of his bedroom and

¹³³ *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 224, pp. 396–397; M.P. Alberzoni, *Città, vescovi e papato nella Lombardia dei comuni* (Novara, 2001), pp. 52–59. For Innocent's measures regarding the Italian houses see Bramato, *Storia*, I, p. 66 ff.

¹³⁴ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, l. II, tit. I, ch. 16, col. 245 (X 2. 1. 16); *Die register Innocenz' III.*, IX, doc. 50, p. 94.

¹³⁵ "Urkunden und Inquisitionen des 12. und 13. Jahrhundert", eds. N. Kamp, D. Giergenson, *QFitAB*, 45 (1965), pp. 71, 121, 123.

¹³⁶ U. Nicolini, "Bonvicino", *DBI* 12 (Rome, 1970), pp. 471–472; F. Tommasi, "L'ordine dei Templari a Perugia", *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, 78 (1981), p. 6 ff.

¹³⁷ A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana alla corte dei papi nel Duecento* (Bari, 1996), or. ed. *La cour des papes au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1995), p. 62.

¹³⁸ E. Göller, "Die Kubikulare im Diesten der päpstlichen Hofverwaltung vom 12. bis 15. Jahrhundert", in *Papstum und Kaisertum. Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters: Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht* (München, 1926), pp. 622–647; Rusch, *Die Behörden*, pp. 92–99.

accompanied him to all the most important audiences. In a miniature of the *Apparatus super Decretalibus* of Innocent IV they are depicted as two well-armed knights standing on either side of the pope, dressed in green.¹³⁹

A number of Templars had been papal chamberlains and many positions in the papal court in the thirteenth century were filled by members of the Order. This was the case for Bernardo, Riccardo and Giovanni, named as marshals under Alexander IV, Bernardo, mentioned under Clement IV,¹⁴⁰ Nicola, Paolo, Martino and the marshals Goffredo and Giovanni de Limeriis, mentioned under Urban IV.¹⁴¹ These brethren and other members of the Order often fulfilled important administrative roles in the papal state.¹⁴² In most cases it has been difficult to trace their area of origin. A marshal by the name of Giacomo, listed in the records of the trial in Tuscany, may have come from North-west Italy.¹⁴³ Giacomo de Pocapalea (Pocapaglia in Piedmont), *cubicularius* of Nicholas IV, was a Piedmontese nobleman.¹⁴⁴ He is identifiable as the Fr. Giacomo who received a castle of Orte as a fief from

¹³⁹ G. Gerola, "La iconografia di Innocenzo IV e lo stemma pontificio", *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 52 (1929), pp. 471–484. For pictures showing *cubicularii* without swords see A. Luttrell, "Iconography and historiography: the Italian Hospitallers before 1530", *Sacra Militia*, 3 (2002), pp. 31–33.

¹⁴⁰ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra la casa di Savoia e la Santa Sede nel Medioevo (1066–1268)*, ed. P. Fontana, BSSS 142 (Turin, 1939), doc. 212, pp. 310, 312, 313.

¹⁴¹ *Les registres d'Urban IV*, ed. J. Guiraud, 4 vols., BEF, II ser. (Paris, 1896–1906), I, docs. 126–127, p. 33, III, doc. 1244, p. 154, doc. 1504, pp. 216–217, doc. 1786, p. 280, doc. 2487, p. 419. For the roles of these Templar brethren see Rusch, *Die Behörden*, pp. 122–128; Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, pp. 101–102. Also, a testimony names a certain treasurer Bartolino, active in Rome. Whether he was working in the service of the pope is not known. T. Bini, "Dei Templari e del loro processo in Toscana", *Atti della Reale Accademia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 15 (1845), doc. 9, p. 466. In 1262 the Templar Berardo de Gallerceto was appointed castellan of the fortress *de Cesis* by Urban IV. *Les registres d'Urban IV*, I, doc. 59, p. 14.

¹⁴² *Les registres d'Urban IV*, I, docs. 126–127, p. 33, doc. 329, p. 152, II, doc. 880, p. 427, IV, doc. 2948, p. 57; *Les registres de Clement IV*, ed. E. Jordan, BEF, II ser. (Paris, 1893–1945), doc. 24, p. 9; *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. M.E. Langlois, 3 vols., BEF, II ser. (Paris, 1886–1893), II, doc. 7288, p. 995, docs. 7304–7305, p. 997; *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. G. Digard *et alii*, 4 vols., BEF, II ser. (Paris, 1889–1939), 4, docs. 5503–5505, cols. 40–41; Bramato, *Storia*, I, pp. 164–165; Bulst-Thiele, "Templer", pp. 302–308; M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, "Warum wollte Philipp IV. den Templerorden vernichten? Ein neuer aspekt", in Minucci, Sardi, eds., *I Templari*, pp. 29–35. For the *castra specialia* entrusted to the Templars see Ciammaruconi, "L'ordine templare", p. 85 ff.

¹⁴³ Bini, "Dei Templari e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 485.

¹⁴⁴ *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, II, docs. 7653–7654, p. 1047.

Nicholas IV,¹⁴⁵ while Boniface VIII granted him the castle of Acquapendente.¹⁴⁶ Another Templar *cubicularius* was Giovanni Fernandi, probably a relative of a former Templar master of Italy and the holder of a number of revenues granted him by James of Molay, grand master of the Order, and endorsed by Boniface VIII in 1296.¹⁴⁷ Also listed amongst the papal porters is the Templar Albertino di Canelli, from a noble Piedmontese family.¹⁴⁸ Even more important was the fact that, at end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, two Templar Masters of Lombardy, Ugucione di Vercelli and Giacomo da Montecucco, were appointed as *cubicularii*.¹⁴⁹ The presence of these dignitaries from North-west Italy in the papal court and the roles assigned them by popes mark the significant progress made by the Lombard section of the Order in relations with the papal see.¹⁵⁰

Only one fact seems to contradict this general picture of active cooperation with the papacy. Before Albertino di Canelli, various other members of this family and its related lineages had entered the Temple, occupying important positions. Prominent amongst these was Guglielmo di Canelli, formerly in charge of the province of Sicily and then of Lombardy. He was related to King Manfred, the son of Bianca Lancia d'Agliano and Frederick II, and had the patronage of Constance of Aragon, daughter of Manfred and wife of King Peter III. Before Guglielmo there had been his relative Alberto, he too Templar master of Sicily under the protection of King Manfred and subsequently active in Piedmont.¹⁵¹ After 1250 a number of members of the Canelli family moved to the South where, being quite close relatives of King Manfred, they managed to secure important positions in the Staufen court.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, II, docs. 7001–7002, p. 945.

¹⁴⁶ *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, I, docs. 2331–2332, cols. 917–918.

¹⁴⁷ *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, I, doc. 1508, cols. 547–548. See also below, Chapter III, p. 97.

¹⁴⁸ See below, Chapter IV, pp. 137–139.

¹⁴⁹ See below, Chapter III, pp. 103–106.

¹⁵⁰ Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele has stressed the importance of the ties between the Temple and the papacy, underlining how Philip the Fair's action against this Order was also aimed at depriving the king's antagonist of one of its more efficient policy tools. Bulst-Thiele, "Warum wollte Philip IV. den Templerorden vernichten?", pp. 29–35.

¹⁵¹ See below, Chapters III and IV, pp. 101–103, 137.

¹⁵² A. Barbero, "I signori di Canelli fra la corte di re Manfredi e gli ordini monastico-

With such well-documented links between these Templar dignitaries, King Manfred and his heirs one has to ask if the Temple in North-west Italy sided with the Guibelline faction. Some of the measures taken by the Order in the area seem to bear this out: the settlement of the Gorra dispute, reached in 1245 thanks also to the involvement of Frederick II; Innocent IV's rebuke of Templars, Hospitallers, Minors and Predicators in 1247, ordering them to stop administering the sacraments in Mondovì, which was under interdict for its support of the Emperor; the sale of the Templar estate of Montemaggiore to the commune of Savigliano, again in 1247; and the papal restraint upon the alienation of the house of Murello in 1251.

The settlement of the Gorra dispute, mentioned above, was ratified by the Emperor during his stay in Piedmont. His only interest in the matter was that Chieri, one of the parties in the dispute, was on the side of the Empire.¹⁵³ The attitude of the Templars in Mondovì in 1247 was the same as that of the other orders in the city. Even though the local commune was pro-Empire, this choice shows above all how deeply rooted the Temple was in the city.¹⁵⁴ The Templars rented the hill of Montemaggiore in Piedmont to the commune of Savigliano during Frederick II's stay in the North¹⁵⁵ and guaranteed that Savigliano could erect defences here against Cherasco, a neighbouring village founded by Alba to be set against its rival, Asti.¹⁵⁶ At first the Emperor had approved of the foundation of Cherasco, but then, to please Asti and keep it on the Imperial side, he reversed his policy.¹⁵⁷ In 1251 Innocent IV notified the Grand Master of the Temple that he had prohibited the Master of Lombardy from passing the Murello house over to Asti.¹⁵⁸ The willingness to transfer the house in

cavallereschi", in R. Bordone, ed., *Bianca Lancia d'Agliano. Fra il Piemonte e il regno di Sicilia*. Atti del Convegno, Asti-Agliano 1990 (Alessandria, 1992), pp. 226–229.

¹⁵³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, pp. 80–85. For the Emperor's stay in Piedmont see F. Cognasso, *Il Piemonte nell'Età sveva, Miscellanea di Storia Patria*, IV ser., 10 (1968), pp. 694–695.

¹⁵⁴ Potthast, no. 12724; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 515–516; Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 716–717; F. Cognasso, *Storia di Torino* (Milan, 1969), p. 125 ff.; P. Guglielmotti, "Le origini del comune di Mondovì. Progettualità politica e dinamiche sociali fino agli inizi del Trecento", in R. Comba, G. Griseri, G.M. Lombardi, eds., *Storia di Mondovì e del Monregalese*, 2 vols. (Cuneo, 2002), I, *Le origini e il Duecento*, pp. 83–84.

¹⁵⁵ C. Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, 4 vols. (Savigliano, 1879–1890), II, p. 264.

¹⁵⁶ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 710–721. See also below, Chapter IV and Part II, pp. 169, 314.

¹⁵⁷ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, p. 704 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Chartarum*, doc. 951, cols. 1406–1407.

itself shows a certain affinity between the Temple and the commune of Asti and is linked only indirectly to Asti's pro-Staufen stance.¹⁵⁹ As for the Montemaggiore and Murello transactions, as we shall also see later on, it would thus be more appropriate to see them as decisions that suited the commune of Asti, one of the most influential political bodies in the area, rather than as expressions of a pro-Imperial attitude. The few references we have seen do not seem to bring to the fore a substantial unity of intent between Hohenstaufen interests and those of the Lombard Templars, but are more related to local politics. Only on reflection, given the pro-Imperial line of Asti in this period, do these actions bring the Templars of North-west Italy closer to the Hohenstaufens.¹⁶⁰

It should also be remembered that, starting from the reign of Frederick II in southern Italy, relations between the crown, the Temple and the Hospital were marked by a bitter conflict.¹⁶¹ The situation changed during the reign of Manfred, with a reversal in the trend of the relationship between the Staufens and the Temple in the South. However, the closeness of the new sovereign to some Lombard dignitaries did not affect the decisions of the Templars in the north of the Italian peninsula. Subsequently, the links between the Canelli family and the Aragonese court, where Manfred's daughter Constance reigned, implied that there was still a certain degree of patronage for these officials, although without influencing the Italian politics of an Order that tended to be pro-Angevin.¹⁶² Indeed, it was the relations fostered with the Aragonese court by these very individuals that caused them a series of different problems.¹⁶³

The only act in northern Italy that links Charles I of Anjou to the Temple was made in 1272. During the offensive that resulted in a number of Piedmontese communes siding with the Angevins,¹⁶⁴ Charles urged the seneschal of Lombardy to assist and defend the brethren of

¹⁵⁹ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 766–769.

¹⁶⁰ See below, Chapter IV, pp. 168–170.

¹⁶¹ Houben, “Templari”, pp. 270–274; C. Guzzo, *Templari in Sicilia. La storia e le sue fonti tra Federico II e Roberto d'Angiò* (Genoa, 2003), pp. 19–49.

¹⁶² Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 259–290; Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 447–449.

¹⁶³ See below, Chapters III and IV, pp. 101–103, 137–139.

¹⁶⁴ G.M. Monti, *La dominazione angioina in Piemonte*, BSSS 116 (Turin, 1930), pp. 34–35; J. Dunbabin, *Charles of Anjou. Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London–New York, 1998), pp. 77–79.

the Templar house in Murello, together with the men of this *villa*.¹⁶⁵ Given the advantageous position of this house, it was not by chance that the sovereign took an interest in it. The favourable relations implied by this action were matched in the South by a series of concessions made by Charles to the Temple, which supported him politically.¹⁶⁶

The dynamics of the relations between Temple, papacy and empire in North-west Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries thus appear to have been influenced both by strictly local factors and the general trend of the *Regnum-Sacerdotium* dialectic. The possible initial siding of the Temple in Lombardy with the empire probably reflected the attitudes of the Hospitallers and higher local clergy. The same applies to the turn of events that perhaps brought the Lombard Templars closer to Alexander III by the end of the 1260s, a position the Order was then to maintain for the remainder of its existence. There was a brief period when the presence in the Temple of a number of descendants of the Canelli family, who were related to the Staufens, led to an instance of cooperation with the reigning authorities in the South, but this does not seem to have affected the trend of the Order in North-west Italy.

5. *A look at the East: the maritime activities of the Temple and the Ligurian houses*

The development of the Templars' Western convents was also linked to the fortunes of the Order in the East. Military Orders differed from other ecclesiastical institutions in North-west Italy in that their policies were not confined to Europe alone, but were also influenced by the dynamics of the entire Mediterranean area. The Temple's choices of expansion or withdrawal reflected its policy of adapting to differ-

¹⁶⁵ *I registri della cancelleria angioina*, ed. R. Filangieri *et alii*, 47 vols. (Naples, 1950–2003), VIII, no. 587, p. 209.

¹⁶⁶ Bramato, *Storia*, I, pp. 126–134; Guzzo, *Templari*, pp. 67–87; C. Guzzo, “Contributo alle relazioni fra Carlo d’Angiò e i Templari”, *Sacra Militia*, 2 (2001), pp. 204–218; Ciannamaroni, “L’ordine templare”, pp. 91–92. For the involvement of Military Orders in Charles of Anjou’s campaigns in southern Italy see Bronstein, *The Hospitallers*, pp. 124–127; Carraz, *L’Ordre du Temple*, pp. 450–451. Still in 1289, Nicholas IV urged Templars from different places in northern Italy to pay the tithe for the *negocium Regni Siciliae*. *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, I, doc. 1146, p. 240.

ent local situations in order to gain the maximum benefits in terms of settlements, property and pastoral influence. However, to really understand the development of the Western houses of this Order, one has also to look constantly at its political and military actions in the East.

The Templars in North-west Italy maintained continuous relations with the Levant. Unfortunately, they are poorly documented. The only provincial master attested as actually being in Outremer is Bonifacio, who, as mentioned earlier, was in Jerusalem in 1167. Relations between the Masters of Lombardy and Italy and the Order's highest authorities are also sporadically documented during the thirteenth century, mostly in the form of letters of attorney for important financial transactions or disputes involving local houses of the Order.¹⁶⁷

The presence in the East of Templar brothers and dignitaries from North-west Italy is rarely attested to. A Templar preceptor of Antioch, named William of Montferrat, is mentioned in the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, but the name was transcribed wrongly and the person in question can be identified as William of Montferrand.¹⁶⁸ The trial records talk of some Templar brethren, knights and sergeants, who, admitted to the Order in North-west Italy or originating from there, were called on to serve in Outremer. In Cyprus, out of a total of seventy-six Templars questioned, only four originated from this area. These data are important, though, as they document a mobility that would otherwise have gone completely unnoticed.¹⁶⁹

The Lombard Templars' actions in preparing for military expeditions may have been particularly decisive during the Fourth Crusade, especially in virtue of the gathering of troops in Venice and their subordination to commanders from North-west Italy. The only information we have on this is that the provincial master Barozio joined the crusade and then was given the task of going to the papal court with the news of the taking of Constantinople, equipped with a collection of relics and

¹⁶⁷ See below, Chapter III, pp. 91, 96, 97.

¹⁶⁸ *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed. R. Röhrich, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 2 (1884), p. 439; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. R.H. Luard, 6 vols., *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores or chronicles and memorials of Great Britain and Ireland in the middle ages* 57 (London, 1872–1883), III, p. 405.

¹⁶⁹ See also E. Bellomo, "Mobility of Templar Brothers and Dignitaries: The Case of North-Western Italy", in J. Burgtorf, H. Nicholson, eds., *International Mobility in Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business* (Cardiff, 2005), pp. 102–113.

precious objects.¹⁷⁰ Some of these were to be donated to the pope and some were destined *ad opus Templi*.¹⁷¹

This detail leads us to the consideration of whether any traces remain of Eastern relics brought to North-west Italy by the Templars, as these would constitute further proof of contact between the houses in this area and the Latin East. In the Order's house in Milan, for example, there was a box containing a number of relics,¹⁷² but we know nothing of the origin of these objects. A recent reconstruction argues that the Military Order took the corpse of St. Varus from the East to Casale Monferrato, but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.¹⁷³

All that remains is to look into the maritime activities of the Temple in the Ligurian ports, the natural outlet to the sea for the region in question. Maritime expeditions are documented as having been organised by the Templars from as early as 1162;¹⁷⁴ ships owned by the Order existed in 1207.¹⁷⁵ The main ports that these vessels set sail from on their journeys to the East, or that they headed for on their way back from the Holy Land, were Apulian, French and Iberian. The reconstructed Angevin registers show how intense the Order's activity was in exporting resources to Syria and Palestine.¹⁷⁶ On the French

¹⁷⁰ *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 147, p. 235, doc. 152, p. 262. Cf. also *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. P. Riant, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1877–1878, repr. Paris, 2004), I, pp. CLV–CLVI. For these relics see V. Polonio, “Devozioni di lungo corso: lo scalo genovese”, in G. Ortalli, D. Puncuh, eds., *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII–XIV*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Genova-Venezia, 10–14 marzo 2000, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s., 41 (2001), pp. 361–375.

¹⁷¹ For the Templars' devotion to relics see F. Tommasi, “I Templari e il culto delle reliquie”, in Minucci, Sardi, eds., *I Templari*, pp. 191–210; H. Nicholson, “The Head of Saint Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints”, in S.B. Edgington, S. Lambert, eds., *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 108–120.

¹⁷² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 336, p. 541.

¹⁷³ See below, Part II, p. 332.

¹⁷⁴ *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII*, eds. R. Morozzo della Rocca, A. Lombardo, 2 vols., RCI 28 (Rome, 1940), I, doc. 158, pp. 155–156.

¹⁷⁵ *Documenti del commercio veneziano*, II, doc. 487, pp. 27–28.

¹⁷⁶ J. Pryor, “*In subsidium Terrae Sanctae*: Exports of Foodstuffs and War Materials from the Kingdom of Sicily to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. 1265–1284”, in B.Z. Kedar, A.L. Udovitch, eds., *The Medieval Levant: Studies in memory of Elyahu Ashtor* (Haifa, 1988), pp. 127–146; J. Pryor, “Transportation of Horses by Sea during the Era of the Crusades”, *Mariners's Mirror*, 68 (1982), pp. 9–27, 103–125; M. Barber, “Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars”, in B.Z. Kedar, ed., *The Horns of Hattin*. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem-Haifa, 2–6 July 1987 (Jerusalem-London, 1992), pp. 322–326; Demurger, *Vie et mort*, p. 169ff.; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 229ff.; Guzzo, *Templari*, p. 73ff.

coast the city most involved in naval expeditions organised by the Templars and Hospitallers was Marseilles.¹⁷⁷ Many Templar convoys also set sail from the Iberian coasts.¹⁷⁸

In general there is little evidence of the direct involvement of forces from North-west Italy in these activities. In the documents notarised in Liguria there are very few signs of a Templar presence and no commitments of this kind are mentioned in any of the records from the area in question in this study. We can infer, however, that in 1167 the provincial master Bonifacio travelled from Jerusalem to Liguria¹⁷⁹ and we know that *The Falcon*, the ship captained by the famous Templar Roger of Flor, was from Genoa.¹⁸⁰

There is no mention either of Templars from the Ligurian houses in the preparation of Louis IX's crusader expeditions, in which there was a high level of Genoese involvement, and the Genoese shipping companies dealt mainly with the Order's French dignitaries.¹⁸¹ This fact also makes us realise that the Templars, important intermediaries between Europe and the Holy Land, had built up a network of financial contacts of their own which, in some cases, could well have been in competition with the Genoese merchants.¹⁸²

What is quite striking, though, is that in such an important maritime outlet as Liguria there were only four definite Templar houses (Genoa, Albenga, Osiglia and Ventimiglia).¹⁸³ There are still doubts about the existence of a Templar house in Savona, where just one will bequest to the *Templum* has been traced, whereas others are for the *Templum*

¹⁷⁷ *Acta imperii inedita saeculi XIII et XIV. Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreiches und des Königreichs Sizilien*, ed. E.A. Winkelmann, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1880–1885), I, doc. 139, p. 117; CH, II, doc. 1464, pp. 186–187, doc. 2067, pp. 462–464.

¹⁷⁸ Forey, *The Templars*, p. 356 ff.

¹⁷⁹ In spring 1167 Bonifacio was in Jerusalem and in December he was attested to in Albenga. Grauert, "Eine Tempelherrenurkunde", pp. 294–295; Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49.

¹⁸⁰ Ramon Muntaner, *Crónica Catalana*, ed. A. de Borafull (Barcelona, 1860), pp. 368–369.

¹⁸¹ *Documenti inediti riguardanti le due crociate di s. Ludovico IX re di Francia*, ed. L.T. Belgrano (Genoa, 1859).

¹⁸² Cf. L. Delisle, *Mémoires sur les opérations financières des templiers* (Paris, 1889). Thanks to Valeria Polonio for pointing this out to me.

¹⁸³ Unfortunately, there is no information from the *Rationes Decimarum* of Liguria. *Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Liguria Maritima*, eds. M. Rosada, E. Girardi, Studi e Testi 425 (Vatican City, 2005). Thanks to Elisabetta Girardi for telling me about the result of her work.

Domini, which could be the Dome of the Rock. Furthermore, no document refers explicitly to an actual local house.¹⁸⁴

The often fragmentary state of the sources prevents us from drawing a precise picture of the Templar presence in Liguria and its evolution in the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁵ It is, however, undeniable that in the Ligurian documents, the Hospitallers are consistently named more frequently, whereas the Temple is referred to in a much more marginal way. Apart from in documents dealing strictly with property questions regarding the Order's various houses, it can be seen that the donations and will bequests to the Hospitallers far outstrip those to the Templars.¹⁸⁶ This marked preference can be attributed first of all to the fact that the Knights of St. John in Genoa performed intense charitable work, which must have contributed to their success.¹⁸⁷ The same cannot be said of the Templars, who were never involved in this kind of action. The close links formed between the Hospitallers and Genoese society were further strengthened by the work done for the local commune by a number of Hospitaller dignitaries such as, for example, Guglielmo da Voltaggio, who negotiated Genoa's peace treaty with Alessandria in 1232.¹⁸⁸

The reasons for this closeness, evident not only at the popular piety level but also on a political level, are local, but can also be explained more generally in the context of the relationship between the Genoese and the Military Orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

When the Temple first started expanding in North-west Italy, Liguria seemed to be one of the more suitable zones for the establishment of the Order. Nevertheless, signs of a crisis were already beginning to appear at the end of the twelfth century. In 1191 the Albenga house

¹⁸⁴ See below, Part II, p. 349.

¹⁸⁵ The inventory of the Temple's Ligurian possessions, drafted during the trial and taken directly to Avignon, has been lost.

¹⁸⁶ L. Tacchella, *I Cavalieri di Malta in Liguria* (Genoa, 1977), pp. 14–55. For the Hospitallers in Genoa see *ibid.*, pp. 11–73; Rossini, ed., *La Commenda*; C. Cattaneo Mallone di Novi, *Gli Hospitalieri di San Giovanni a Genova* (Genoa, 1994); A. Dagnino, G. Rossini, *San Giovanni di Prè: Chiesa e Commenda* (Genoa, 1997); J. Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*; J. Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*.

¹⁸⁷ Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, pp. 33–42. For the Genoese bequests to the Hospital see Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 149–150, 175–179; S.A. Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese. 958–1528* (Chapel Hill–London, 1996), pp. 92–95, 116–120, 129–135.

¹⁸⁸ R. Pavoni, "Un protagonista della politica genovese della prima metà del XIII secolo: il gerosolimitano Guglielmo di Voltaggio", in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, pp. 27–77.

ceded a substantial part of its property.¹⁸⁹ It was previously thought that on this occasion the Order had completely withdrawn from this area, after the sale of its house to the local bishop. On re-examining the deed, however, it can be seen that at this time the Temple was making outright sales of its properties that were scattered and probably very fragmented and difficult to run, whereas other properties and the house of San Calocero were rented to the local bishop.¹⁹⁰ It should also be remembered that the Order had decided not to directly administer this house from 1167 onwards, investing its entire estate with an affiliate, Robaldo Marabotto, in return for the payment of an annuity. The Albenga Templars may well have used this system previously, entrusting San Calocero to a *conversus*.¹⁹¹

The 1191 transaction earned the Temple the considerable sum of 750 Genoese silver *lire* and, given the subsequent decline of the port of Albenga, in all probability the Templars did not regret their decision.¹⁹²

There is, however, a significant difference between the investiture of 1167 and the deed of 1191. The latter implies not just a transitory period of administration linked to a particular person but rather the actual transfer—although not of ownership—of San Calocero to the local bishop. At the time of the transfer the port of Albenga was still active, so why, then, did the Templars decide to give up this property? One of the factors which undoubtedly influenced the Order's decision was the commune of Albenga's growing dependency on Genoa. The convention stipulated between the two cities in 1179¹⁹³ clearly demonstrates Albenga's subordinate status and, of equal significance, in the commercial privileges granted by the princes of the Holy Land after the fall of Jerusalem (1187), Albenga, by then completely within Genoa's sphere of influence, is no longer mentioned.¹⁹⁴ At the same time, after the Ligurian triumphs in the first decades of the twelfth century, relations between Genoa, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the other

¹⁸⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 79–81.

¹⁹⁰ Thanks to Primo Giovanni Embriaco for having procured the full text of the deed for me.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 16 and below, Chapter III and Part II, pp. 124, 229–231.

¹⁹² Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 89–90, 99–101. For the silting up of the port of Albenga see N. Lamboglia, *Albenga romana e medievale* (7th edition, Bordighera, 1992), pp. 169–171; Varaldo Grottin, ed., *Porti antichi*, pp. 83–86.

¹⁹³ *I Libri Iurium*, I/1, doc. 251, pp. 360–361.

¹⁹⁴ *I Libri Iurium*, I/2, doc. 333, pp. 142–143.

Crusader states had deteriorated.¹⁹⁵ Already in 1155 the commune of Genoa had complained to the pope about the Holy Land princes not respecting its privileges.¹⁹⁶ These difficulties became more acute during the reigns of Amalric I (1162–1174) and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (1174–1185). At the request of the former, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre removed and destroyed the memorial inscription installed in their basilica by Baldwin I to commemorate the help given by the Genoese in the foundation of the kingdom and the privileges granted to them. This outrage, harshly condemned by Alexander III, was not remedied by Amalric's heir, Baldwin IV, who did not replace the inscription.¹⁹⁷

A document from 1179 notes that there was also friction between the Templars and the Genoese. In that year Alexander III intervened in a dispute between the Military Order and the Genoese church. The quarrel was over a house constructed in the Acre area by the Templars on land belonging to the Genoese canons, without asking

¹⁹⁵ Confirmation of Genoese privileges can, however, be found in *I Libri Iurium*, I/2, docs. 337–339, pp. 152–157.

¹⁹⁶ Caffaro, *Annales Ianuenses*, in *Annali genovesi*, I, pp. 43–45. After this Genoa also encountered repeated difficulties in getting its sovereignty over the property assigned to the Genoese Embriaci family recognised. This lineage, settled in Jubail, was increasingly intent on freeing itself from the control of the mother country. Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio*, p. 111.

¹⁹⁷ Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis liber*, in *Annali genovesi*, I, p. 121; *Regni Ierosolimitani brevis hystoria*, in *Annali genovesi*, I, pp. 129, 135; *I Libri iurium*, I/1, doc. 59, pp. 97–98, I/2, docs. 311–314, pp. 113–118, doc. 316, pp. 119–120, docs. 318–320, pp. 121–124. The Grand Master of the Temple was called to act as arbiter in this quarrel. For example, see *I Libri iurium*, I/2, doc. 317, pp. 120–121, doc. 321, pp. 125–126. On the debate over the actual existence of this inscription and the presumed inauthenticity of the charter attesting to the privileges granted to the Genoese by Baldwin I see H.E. Mayer, M.-L. Favreau, “Das Diplom Balduin I. für Genua und Genuas Goldene Inschrift in dem Grabskirche”, *QFitAB*, 55–56 (1976), pp. 22–69; B.Z. Kedar, “Genoa's Golden Inscription in the Church of Holy Sepulchre: a Case for the Defence”, in G. Airaldi, B.Z. Kedar, eds., *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*. Atti del Colloquio ‘The Italian Communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem’, Jerusalem, May 24th – May 28th, Collana storica di Fonti e Studi 48 (Genoa, 1986), pp. 319–335, reprinted in B.Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant. 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), essay, III; A. Rovere, “«Rex Balduinus Ianuensibus privilegia firmaverat et fecit». Sulla presunta falsità del diploma di Baldovino I in favore dei Genovesi”, *Studi Medievali*, III ser., 37 (1996), pp. 95–133; H.E. Mayer, “Genuesische Fälschungen. Zur einer Studie von Antonella Rovere”, *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 45 (1999), pp. 21–60; Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio*, pp. 132–139; B.Z. Kedar, “Again: Genoa's Golden Inscription and King Baldwin I's Privilege of 1104”, in D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Paugès, D. Valérian, eds., *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur le Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, 2 vols., Byzantina Sorbonensia 20 (Paris, 2004), pp. 495–502. Similar difficulties arose in the county of Tripoli. *I Libri iurium*, I/2, doc. 323, pp. 127–129.

their permission. The pope urged the parties to come to a mutually acceptable agreement.¹⁹⁸ The possibility that the Templars were taking advantage of Genoa's difficulties at that time in the Holy Land by attempting to take possession of some of its property is not to be ruled out.¹⁹⁹

The situation only changed after Jerusalem fell into the hands of Saladin in 1187. In this desperate situation the Genoese forces once more became indispensable for the survival of the Crusader states and the barons of Outremer quickly restored Genoa's previously abused privileges.²⁰⁰

Later, during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Genoa was on the side of Conrad of Montferrat, Philip Augustus II of France's candidate for King of Jerusalem, with Richard the Lion Heart supporting the other pretender to the throne, Guy of Lusignan. The Temple's attitude in this case was influenced both by contingent choices and the lineages of its Grand Masters. Gerard of Ridfort (1185–1189) had supported Guy of Lusignan ever since his coronation. His successor, Robert of Sablé (1191–1193), was a vassal of Richard the Lion Heart and probably owed his election to his links with King Richard.²⁰¹ So, the political positions of the Templars were not identifiable with those of the Genoese in this period either.²⁰²

This complex situation seemed to have affected the Ligurian Templar houses as well. The sale of Albenga took place during the Third

¹⁹⁸ *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, II, doc. 29, pp. 247–248.

¹⁹⁹ In Acre the Templar quarter was adjacent to the Genoese quarter. For crusader Acre see D. Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography", *Studi medievali*, III ser., 20 (1979), pp. 1–45, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), essay V; D. Jacoby, "L'évolution urbaine et la fonction méditerranéenne d'Acre à l'époque des croisades", in E. Poleggi, ed., *Le Città portuali nel Medioevo* (Genoa, 1989), pp. 95–109, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), essay V; D. Jacoby, "Les communes italiennes et les ordres militaires à Acre: aspects juridiques, territoriaux et militaires (1104–1187, 1191–1291)", in M. Balard, ed., *État et colonisation au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* (Lyon, 1989), pp. 193–214, reprinted in Jacoby, *Trade*, essay VI; B.Z. Kedar, E. Stern, "Un nuovo sguardo sul quartiere genovese di Acri", in G. Airalidi, P. Stringa, eds., *Mediterraneo genovese. Storia e Architettura*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Genova, 29 ottobre 1992 (Genoa, 1995), pp. 11–28; D. Jacoby, "Aspects of everyday life in Frankish Acre", *Crusades*, 4 (2005), pp. 73–105.

²⁰⁰ *Regni Ierosolimitani brevis hystoria*, pp. 143–144; *I Libri Iurium*, I/2, docs. 330–331, pp. 135–140, docs. 333–336, pp. 142–152, docs. 342–343, pp. 160–163.

²⁰¹ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 119.

²⁰² Philip II Augustus had, in fact, set off from Genoa. Ottobonus Scriba, *Annales Ianuenses*, in *Annali genovesi*, II, pp. 31–32, 34–36.

Crusade, and the Order may well have decided to take this step in the light of the course the war was taking in the Holy Land. Unfortunately, we are not to know how the Order decided to use the money thus obtained. The Temple's purchase of the island of Cyprus in 1191 took place several months after the sale of Albenga and the Order could not have decided on the sale in Liguria with this specific intent as the island had not yet been conquered.²⁰³ It is not unlikely, though, that the Temple used part of the sum obtained for this purchase. In the winter of 1190–1191 the Christian army suffered tremendous hardship outside the walls of Acre and it is probable that the Temple used the proceeds of the sale for the needs of the army.²⁰⁴ As regards the Temple and the Hospital, Judith Bronstein notes that in this period, “having exhausted their resources defending the Latin East from Saladin's incursions, they were forced to sell property in Europe to cover their expenses”.²⁰⁵ The Temple thus sacrificed a house that it had earlier already ceased to administer directly and that was in territory governed by a political entity that could not always have been easy to accommodate.

The following century, characterised by continuing close economic relations between Genoa and the Latin East,²⁰⁶ was marked by a series of conflicts between the Italian maritime cities and the consequent repercussions in the Holy Land. The situation was further complicated by the internal power struggle in the kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1222, for example, the Genoese clashed with the Pisans in Acre and the Genoese tower was destroyed.²⁰⁷ Following this, the Ligurians actively supported the nobles of Outremer against Frederick II.²⁰⁸ In 1245 there were further clashes between Italians.²⁰⁹

²⁰³ P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades. 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 6–8.

²⁰⁴ J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969), II, p. 58ff.; H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, transl. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), or. ed. *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 141–142.

²⁰⁵ Bronstein, *The Hospitallers*, pp. 65, 105.

²⁰⁶ G. Pistarino, “Genova e il Vicino Oriente nell'epoca del regno latino di Gerusalemme”, in Airalidi, Kedar, eds., *I Comuni italiani*, pp. 115–121; L. Balletto, “Fonti notarili genovesi del secondo Duecento per la storia del Regno latino di Gerusalemme”, in Airalidi, Kedar, eds., *I Comuni italiani*, pp. 177–249; A. Ashtor, “Il regno dei crociati e il commercio di Levante”, *ibid.*, pp. 15–56; M. Balard, “Les transports maritimes génois vers la Terre Sainte”, *ibid.*, pp. 143–174.

²⁰⁷ *Annales Ianuenses*, in *Annali genovesi*, III, pp. 182–184.

²⁰⁸ *Annales Ianuenses*, III, p. 63ff.

²⁰⁹ *Annales Ianuenses*, III, p. 162. Several benefices were assigned to the Genoese in Holy Land, although they did not reside there. A. Ferretto, “I genovesi in Oriente nel

The anti-Staufen positions adopted by the Genoese during Frederick II's reign implied a certain degree of alignment between Templar and Ligurian politics. Besides, the pope in this period, Sinibaldo Fieschi, was Genoese. Perhaps it was on his insistence that a fellow Genoese, Pietro, became Templar master in Rome.²¹⁰ In 1247 another member of the Fieschi family, Opizzo, was appointed patriarch of Antioch.²¹¹

The extent of the bitterness of the quarrels between the maritime cities was to emerge in the Latin East in the war of 1256–1258, known as the “war of St. Sabas”. This conflict took its name from the monastery which stood on the boundary between the Venetian and Genoese districts of Acre, as it was a dispute over the ownership of a house belonging to this convent that was one of the causes of the war. The dispute soon degenerated into open hostilities, which added to the dynastic problems of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It ended with the Genoese losing their positions in the kingdom's capital.²¹² This bitter defeat, though, did not mark the end of the relationship between Genoa and the Latin East, but led to the Genoese choosing Tyre as the market for their trade.²¹³ In this difficult situation, the Temple sided with the Venetians, to the point of supporting them openly. During the clashes the

carteggio di Innocenzo IV”, *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, 1 (1900), pp. 353–368; N. Coureas, “The Genoese and the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1250–1320”, in L. Balletto, ed., *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino* (Genoa, 1997), I, pp. 165–171; R. Hiestand, “Some Reflections on the Impact of the Papacy on the Crusader States and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries”, in Z. Hunyadi, J. Laszlovszky, eds., *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest, 2001), p. 14. On this issue see also R. Hiestand, “Der lateinische Klerus der Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Geographische Herkunft und politische Rolle”, in H.E. Mayer, ed., *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1997), pp. 43–68.

²¹⁰ S. Riccioni, “Di un'iscrizione templare a Roma. Preliminari di una ricerca”, in Ciammaruconi, ed., *L'ordine templare*, pp. 275–293.

²¹¹ G. Nuti, “Fieschi, Opizzo”, *DBI* 47 (Rome, 1997), pp. 508–510; D. Calcagno, “Il patriarca di Antiochia Opizzo Fieschi, diplomatico di spicco per la Santa Sede tra Polonia, Oriente Latino ed Italia del XIII secolo”, in D. Calcagno, ed., *I Fieschi tra Papato e Impero*. Atti del Convegno, Lavagna, 18 dicembre 1994 (Lavagna, 1997), pp. 145–267.

²¹² *Annales Ianuenses*, in *Annali genovesi*, IV, p. 31 ff.; G. Caro, *Genova e la supremazia sul Mediterraneo (1257–1311)*, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s., 14–15 (1974–1975), or. ed. *Genoa und die Mächte am Mittelmeer. 1257–1311* (Halle, 1895–1899), I, pp. 36–79; Epstein, *Genoa*, p. 146 ff.

²¹³ See Pistarino, “Genova”, p. 63 ff., where the parallel growth of Genoa's interest in Romania is underlined.

Templars put the Venetian and Pisan districts under their protection, guaranteeing the Venetians and their allies the freedom of movement needed to defeat the enemy.²¹⁴

This state of tension between Genoa and the Templars, probably triggered by these events, led to direct clashes between the two parties and probably ended with the approval of an agreement between the commune of Genoa and the Military Order in 1267.²¹⁵ As all we have on this agreement is the deed of acceptance, drawn up in Genoa, we are unable to make an accurate assessment of the conciliation conditions. Putting aside their previous grievances and disagreements, the two parties undertook to have a more conciliatory attitude in future. What is interesting is the mention of clashes between Genoese ships and *ligna (...) ipsius domus [Templi]* in the kingdom of Cyprus and other places, showing just how much relations between the Genoese and the Templars had deteriorated. After the agreement, the Military Order attempted to prevent further outbreaks of hostilities between Genoa and Venice.²¹⁶

A new era of cooperation between the Temple and Genoa only began after the fall of Acre in 1291.²¹⁷ Genoese documents drawn up in Cyprus make a number of references to maritime actions undertaken by the Military Orders at the start of the fourteenth century together with the Genoese forces on the island. Almost half a century after the war of St. Sabas, when the last bastion of Christianity in the Holy Land had fallen, Cyprus became the fulcrum of new relations between Genoa and the Templars.²¹⁸ Deeds drawn up on the island by the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto between 1296 and 1302

²¹⁴ *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro. 1243–1314*, ed. L. Minervini (Naples, 2000), p. 63 ff.

²¹⁵ *I Libri Iurium*, I/5, doc. 824, pp. 13–16.

²¹⁶ Caro, *Genova*, II, pp. 85–87.

²¹⁷ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 101–102. The relations between Genoa and the Crusades in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are studied from a particular point of view in S.A. Epstein, “Genoa and the Crusades. Piety, Credit and the Fiscal-Military State”, in Balletto, ed., *Oriente e Occidente*, I, pp. 245–259. For the Templars and the fall of Acre see M.L. Favreau-Lilie, “Gli ordini militari e la grande emigrazione dei Latini dalla Siria: problemi organizzativi e logistici”, in F. Tommasi, ed., *Acri 1291. La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terrasanta e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo* (Perugia, 1996), pp. 7–21.

²¹⁸ For the Genoese community in Cyprus see R. Pavoni, “Liguri a Cipro tra i secoli XIII e XIV”, in Airaldi, Stringa, eds., *Mediterraneo genovese*, pp. 47–64; Coureas, “The Genoese and the Latin Church”, pp. 165–175; P.W. Edbury, “The Genoese Community in Famagusta around the year 1300: a Historical Vignette”, in Balletto, ed., *Oriente e Occidente*, I, pp. 235–243.

state that the Temple's naval actions involved ships chartered from Ligurian shipping companies, and the Genoese did not hesitate to use the Temple's ships for their merchandise.²¹⁹

On the 25th of February 1300 the Genoese ship owner Pietro Rubeo chartered the ship *Sanctus Iohannes* to the Templars, represented by Fr. Peter de Vares, from mid-March to mid-July, for a trading voyage to several destinations on the Syrian coast. The proceeds from the voyage were then to be divided equally between the Templars and the owner.²²⁰

²¹⁹ It is not my intention here to list every single deed where the Templars are mentioned, but rather to make references to the more important items of information regarding the Order in the cartularies of the Genoese notaries in Cyprus and Lesser Armenia. Numerous deeds were drawn up by the Templar house of Famagusta: "Actes génois passes à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto de Sambuceto", ed. C. Desimoni, AOL, 2 (1884), docs. 17–22, pp. 12–17, doc. 42, pp. 24–28; *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300 – 3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 31 (Genoa, 1982), docs. 226–227, pp. 266–268. The *ruca Templi* is mentioned in *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (Gennaio–Agosto 1302)*, ed. R. Pavoni, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 49 (Genoa, 1987), doc. 60, p. 83. Worthy of note amongst the other members of the Order mentioned in the notarial documents is a *medicus Templi* named Theodore. *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300 – 3 agosto 1301)*, ed. Polonio, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 31, doc. 148, p. 170. More information on the Templar hierarchical organisation in Cyprus is provided by another deed which mentions *quadam cartam sive scripturam factam ex parte domini admirati sive capitanei vel comitti Templi*. *Ibid.*, doc. 413, p. 494. A *preceptor de volta Templi*—the word *volta* means storehouse: *Dizionario di marina medievale e moderna* (Rome, 1937), p. 1214—appears *ibid.*, doc. 166, p. 194, doc. 171 p. 200. There are also two deeds that mention Mossor of Acre, son of Simon of Acre, *scriba* of the Templar ship *Sancta Anna*. *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio–27 ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 32 (Genoa, 1982), doc. 206, p. 247; *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (Gennaio–Agosto 1302)*, ed. R. Pavoni, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 49 (Genoa, 1987), doc. 150, pp. 179–180. Finally, there is a mention of the *discarrigatorium Templi* in the port of Laiazzo in the Lesser Armenia in a deed from 1279. *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalonga (1274) e Pietro di Bargine (1277, 1279)*, ed. L. Balletto, Collana di fonti e studi 53 (Genoa, 1989), doc. 64, p. 291.

²²⁰ "Actes génois", doc. 74, pp. 42–43; *The Templars: selected sources*, eds. M. Barber, K. Bate (Manchester, 2002), pp. 183–184; N. Coureas, "Provençal Trade with Cyprus in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ*, 22 (1996), pp. 73–74. One wonders whether the naval raids of July 1300 organised by the Templars, Hospitallers and Henry II of Cyprus, encouraged by the loss of Damascus to the Mongols in January of that year, had anything to do with this expedition. Malcolm Barber thinks that in fact the attacks were probably "intended to precede this venture", whereas Nicholas Coureas stresses the predominantly commercial nature of the expedition. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 104–106; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 293; N. Coureas, "The Role of the Templars and the Hospitallers in the Movement of Commodities involving

In the following year the Templar Peter Visianus,²²¹ preceptor of the ship *Sancta Anna*, came to an agreement with Genoese merchant Giacomo de Solario for transporting his goods. The deeds tell us that the ship was bound for Genoa, where Peter Visianus was to pay a sum of money to a person from Barcelona.²²² Payments of this kind were also to be made by Leonello de Vindercio and the Genoese merchant Giacomo Pichus on the arrival of the Templar ship. Leonello de Vindercio had received 2,000 white bezants from Giovanni Pinellus for which he was to return 400 Genoese *lire* to Pinellus within two months of the ship *Sancta Anna* reaching Genoa. He also pledged Giovanni a certain quantity of potash, stowed on the Templar ship, as security. Also, Giacomo Pichus declared that he had received a sum of money from Tommaso de Fossato, to be reimbursed in Genoese currency on the arrival of the *Sancta Anna* in Genoa. Giacomo used the money to buy a sizeable part of the ship's cargo.²²³ These documents bring to light the positive relations between the Genoese community in Cyprus and the Templars and are the only records found so far of a Templar ship bound for Genoa.²²⁴

The cooperation between the Templars and the Genoese becomes even clearer when one takes into account the state of Cypriot politics and the events in the struggle between King Henry II (1285–1324) and his brother Amalric (d.1310). Henry had been on very bad terms with both the Genoese²²⁵ and the Templars.²²⁶ Both then became supporters

Cyprus. 1291–1312”, in *The Experience of Crusading*, 2 vols., P. Edbury, J. Phillips, eds., II, *Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 264.

²²¹ Coureas (“The Role of the Templars”, p. 265) argues that he could perhaps be identified as Peter de Vares, mentioned previously.

²²² *Notai genovesi in oltremare*, ed. Pavoni, *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 49, doc. 104, pp. 132–133; Coureas, “The Role of the Templars”, pp. 264–265.

²²³ *Notai genovesi in oltremare*, ed. Pavoni, *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 49, doc. 150, pp. 179–180, doc. 155, pp. 184–185, doc. 162, p. 192; Coureas, “The Role of the Templars”, p. 265.

²²⁴ In 1279 the Provençal merchant William Raimond sold Andrea Rasperio twenty-five *barena* of timber, which were to be delivered in two months at the *discarrigatorium Templi* of Laiazzo. Nothing in the charter suggests that the ship carrying the timber sailed from Genoa. *Notai genovesi in oltremare. Atti rogati a Laiazzo*, doc. 64, p. 291.

²²⁵ The Lusignans, of which Henry was a member, were also responsible for the Genoese defeat in the war of St. Sabas. The quarrel between the Ligurians and Henry, who was inclined to take the side of the Venetians, had a profound effect on the kingdom. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 110–111.

²²⁶ The Temple's favourable attitude to the Angevins, rivals to the Lusignans' for the crown of Jerusalem, had been a cause of tense relations between the Order and the Kings of Cyprus since the 1270s. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 111–112;

of Amalric's surprise move in which he seized power from his brother. The Templars, in the person of Ayme of Osiliers, marshal of the Order, sought Genoese help in the struggle with Henry.²²⁷

Finally, it should be noted that in some deeds drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto, mention is also made of a Genoese *accarator Templi*, Pietro, an official who most probably had the task of overseeing the arming and supplies of the Order's ships (1300).²²⁸ Moreover, one of the Templars investigated in Cyprus was a sergeant of Genoese origin,²²⁹ and all the Genoese citizens questioned in the trial took the side of the Order. They defended the cause of the Temple decisively, stating its complete innocence and noting the actions it took in favour of the poor and the recovery of the Christian positions in Syria and Palestine. Witnesses such as Percivalle de Mari,²³⁰ Ottolino and Simone Rubeo²³¹ were unable to present any evidence in support of the accusations against the Temple. Indeed, with the exception of Simone Rubeo who spoke of the secrecy of the Order's reception ceremonies, the witnesses pointed out that the Templars often gave their own lives in fighting to defend the faith. Also, Percivalle de Mari stated that another Genoese, Matteo Zaccaria, taken prisoner by the infidels, had told him about some captured Templars who had died in prison because they refused to renounce their faith.²³²

The deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto attest that the Genoese witnesses cited had had relations with the Templars, either personally or through their entourage. Percivalle de Mari,²³³ brother of the Genoese

P.W. Edbury, "The Templars in Cyprus", in M. Barber, ed., *The Military Orders I. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot, 1994), p. 192.

²²⁷ *Chronique d'Amadi*, in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891–1893), I, p. 290; Coureas, "The Role of the Templars", pp. 271–272. Simone Rubeo, witness in the trial against the Temple and relative of Pietro Rubeo, played a significant part in the internal struggles in the kingdom of Cyprus. K. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1887), II, p. 161.

²²⁸ *Actes passes*, docs. 76–78, pp. 44–45.

²²⁹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 191, 320–323; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus. A complete English edition*, ed. A. Gilmour-Bryson, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 17 (Leiden, 1998), pp. 115–116, 286–288. On this trial see also P.W. Edbury, "The Military Orders in Cyprus in the Light of Recent Scholarship", in Hunyadi, Laszlovszky, eds., *The Crusades*, pp. 102–104.

²³⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 67–69.

²³¹ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 69–70. Also Hugh of Carmandino was presumably from Genoa. *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 97, 119, 406–407.

²³² For these testimonies see also A. Gilmour-Bryson, "Testimony of Non-Templar Witnesses in Cyprus", in Barber, ed., *The Military Orders I*, pp. 205–211.

²³³ *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 31, doc. 349, p. 416;

podestà Pasquale de Mari, was a merchant of some importance and is referred to as the procurator of Giacomo de Solario, the ship owner who chartered his ship to the Templars. Ottolino and Simone Rubeo were most probably relatives of Pietro Rubeo, who chartered another ship to the Templars, and details of their trading are given in the various deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto.²³⁴

In conclusion, at times, such as during the struggle against Frederick II and in the first few years of the fourteenth century, certain parallels can be traced between Genoese politics and the positions of the Templars. It should however be stressed that relations between Genoa and the princes of the Latin East were often very tense in the twelfth century. Furthermore, in the thirteenth century the Templars had often sided with the Venetians, whereas the Hospitallers had sided with the Genoese. These alignments sometimes led to direct clashes between Genoese and Templars, of which, unfortunately, we do not have precise details. These difficulties definitely played a part in facilitating the establishment of Hospitaller houses in Liguria at the expense of the Templars.

The new era of cooperation between the Genoese and the Templars in Cyprus at the start of the fourteenth century, which lasted until the demise of the Order, may have given a new impulse to the development of the houses in Liguria. Unfortunately, the documents we have managed to trace are too fragmentary to be able to draw an accurate picture of the Templar presence in this coastal region and of the Order's maritime activities in the period immediately prior to the trial.

Notai genovesi in oltremare, ed. Pavoni, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 32, doc. 19, p. 25, doc. 183, pp. 222–224, *Notai genovesi in oltremare*, ed. Balard, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 39, doc. 35, pp. 47–48, doc. 39, p. 52, doc. 62 pp. 77–78, doc. 71–72, pp. 88–90, doc. 78, pp. 96–97, doc. 85, pp. 104–105, doc. 94, pp. 114–115, doc. 105, pp. 128–129, docs. 130–133, pp. 155–159, docs. 135–136, pp. 160–162, doc. 141, p. 166, doc. 143, pp. 167–168, doc. 147, pp. 172–173; *Notai genovesi in oltremare*, ed. Pavoni, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 49, docs. 47–48, pp. 68–70, doc. 123, pp. 152–153; Caro, *Genova*, I, p. 290, II, pp. 226, 296–297; Coureas, “The Role of the Templars”, p. 269. In 1249 Zaccaria de Mari had remembered the Temple in his will.

²³⁴ *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 31, doc. 235, pp. 275–276, doc. 260, pp. 308–309, doc. 303, pp. 363–364, doc. 305, pp. 365–367, docs. 308–309, pp. 370–371, docs. 319–320, pp. 383–385, doc. 325, pp. 389–390, doc. 330, pp. 394–396, doc. 384, pp. 460–461, docs. 400–401, pp. 479–480, doc. 403, pp. 481–482, doc. 406, pp. 484–485, doc. 415, pp. 495–497; *Notai genovesi in oltremare*, ed. Balard, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 39, docs. 130–134, pp. 155–160, docs. 137–138, pp. 162–164, docs. 140–142, pp. 165–167.

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT STRATEGIES AND TYPES OF HOUSES

1. *The Templar houses*¹

All that remains of some Templar houses in North-west Italy is a street name to remind us that one of the Order's convents used to stand on that very spot. This proves that the houses in question had become points of reference in the neighbourhood.² In some cases the Templars became owners or trustees of churches or hospitals that had already been in existence for some time. The houses of *Calventia*, Chieri, Ivrea, and Tortona are examples of this, along with the hospital of Sant'Eustachio in Pavia and those of Sant'Egidio in Testona and Piacenza. References to these houses have been found that pre-date the arrival of the Templars. We know that in some cases they were assigned to the Military Order by local bishops. This kind of mechanism probably facilitated the establishment of the Templars in several places, although it is actually only attested to in certain particular cases.³ It was only in *Calventia* and Villastellone that local houses were established after a bitter struggle.

In some cases it is not certain whether the houses existed before the advent of the Templars. In Milan the church of Ognissanti, cited in some sources, may have been built before the Order's arrival in the city and then dedicated later on to Santa Maria, the name it bears in thirteenth century documents. In Albenga the dedication to St. Calocerus, a martyr who was already widely worshipped in the area and after whom several neighbouring churches had been named, could imply that the house existed before the arrival of the Templars.

¹ See the outlines in Part II for a description of the houses referred to and references to primary and secondary sources.

² In a number of towns, street names like "Via della Commenda", "Vicolo della Mansione" and "Vicolo dei Templari" bear witness to the former presence of Templar houses.

³ This applies to the houses of Testona-Moncalieri, Tortona, S. Eustachio in Pavia, S. Egidio della Misericordia in Piacenza and, presumably, Chieri.

It is not to be ruled out, though, that this dedication could have been chosen to connect the Templar presence to a devotion already existing in the area. In Montesordo the name and the features of the local Templar house are still unclear. There are also uncertainties about the house of Brescia, which, according to an at least partially forged document, was rebuilt by the Templars at an unspecified date and apparently already existed when the Order arrived in the city. An undated commemorative stone, however, that used to be on the front of the church but is now lost, made reference to a new building. It is equally likely that Santa Fede, in Genoa, belonged to the Templars from when it was first attested in 1142. It is only from 1161, though, that the records make explicit reference to a Templar presence in this church. In Piacenza, tradition has it that the Order established itself in the pre-existing church of Sant'Elena, although this is not actually attested to in the records. Also, a commemorative stone from the mid-seventeenth century stated that Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza was built at the end of the eleventh century. This, however, is not confirmed in any of the documents.

Most of the other Templar houses were attested to only when the Order was already established and were thus presumably founded by the Templars themselves. These were houses that were either linked to churches with known dedications⁴ or referred to in the records simply as *domus*, *mansio* or *ecclesia*.⁵

Of the dedications chosen by Templar churches, that of Santa Maria is the most common.⁶ This devotion to St. Mary perhaps derives from St. Bernard, patron of the Temple. St. Mary is also referred to in the name of the Military Order, which is sometimes called *Milicia beate Marie que est in Jerusalem*⁷ or *Templum sancte Marie de ultra mare*.⁸

⁴ Alba, Acqui, Alessandria, Asti, Bergamo, Casale Monferrato, Casei Gerola, Cerro, Fiorenzuola d'Arda, Gorra-Villastellone, Livorno Ferraris, Novara, Pavia (S. Guglielmo and S. Damiano), Ruspaglia, Sant'Apollinare, Turin, Torricella Verzate and Vercelli.

⁵ Cabriolo, Castelnuovo Bocca d'Adda, Cotrebba, Cremona, *Crixanus*, Gusano, Mezzano Chiantolo, Montesordo di Cermenate, Mondovì, Murello, Osiglia, Paciliano, San Nicolò, Savigliano, *Solerus*, Susa, Ventimiglia, *Villa Mausonii*.

⁶ The following Templar churches are dedicated to the Virgin Mary: Alba, Asti, Brescia, Bergamo, Casale Monferrato, Livorno Ferraris, Milan, Novara, Piacenza, Ruspaglia and Torricella Verzate.

⁷ CT, doc. 139, p. 97.

⁸ "Regesti di documenti friulani del sec. XIII da un codice de Rubeis", ed. G. Bragato, *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi*, 5 (1909), p. 171.

Also, a number of donations and records of affiliation to the Temple mention the Virgin Mary⁹ and there are numerous Templar churches dedicated to her all over Europe.¹⁰ In Outremer some legends link several of the Order's settlements to episodes in Mary's life or her relics, and the Templars also played a significant role in the diffusion of devotion to the Virgin's miracle-working icon kept in Saydnaya, close to Damascus.¹¹ Lastly, a recent theory argues that the Templars also incorporated this devotion into their spirituality because their early western bases had been in an area, southern France, where the Virgin was very popular.¹²

In the area being considered here, there was a recurring pattern to how the Templars established their settlements: the houses were located outside the city walls or, in any case, away from inhabited zones. The only case of a Templar church being built inside a settlement is that of Villastellone, where the already extant *mansio* of San Martino was not far away from the new village.

The only descriptions found of structural features of buildings that were probably founded by the Templars are in the *cabrei* of the Hospital, datable to the modern age. The buildings have been subject to extensive alterations over the centuries, although they do have some characteristics in common. They are mostly described as single-nave constructions with simple wooden roofs. They were built according to the same simple design and construction criteria, especially as regards the layout of church buildings, which seems to have been a constant feature of Templar establishments.¹³

⁹ *Cartulaire de la Commanderie de Richerenches de l'Ordre du Temple (1136–1214)*, ed. De Ripert-Monclar (Avignon–Paris, 1907), doc. 3, p. 5, doc. 67, p. 70, doc. 72, p. 73 (the church of this house was dedicated to the Virgin); *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, eds. P.G. Gérard, E. Magnou, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (série in-8°) 3 (Paris, 1965), doc. A 63, pp. 68–69; *Cartulaire des Templiers de Montsaunès*, ed. H.C. Higounet, *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1955–1956 (Paris, 1957), doc. 97, p. 278.

¹⁰ This is the case for the house of Recherences, for example.

¹¹ H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders. 1128–1291* (Leicester–London–New York, 1993), pp. 116–117; Tommasi, “I Templari e il culto delle reliquie”, p. 202; Nicholson, “The Head of Saint Euphemia”, p. 110; B.Z. Kedar, “Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar”, in Hunyadi, Laszlovszky, eds., *The Crusades*, pp. 92–97.

¹² T. Licence, “The Templars and the Hospitallers, Christ and the Saints”, *Crusades*, 4 (2005), pp. 49–50.

¹³ V. Ascani, “L'architettura degli ordini militari in Toscana”, in G. Viti, A. Cadei,

This type of building is identifiable in the Templar churches in Brescia and Bergamo. The single-nave layout is still visible in the building that was once Santa Maria del Tempio in Brescia, now a shop. The same layout can be recognised in the Bergamo house, as recorded in the description of a pastoral visit by St. Carlo Borromeo (1575).¹⁴ Also, on an eighteenth century map it is shown as a hall with a single nave ending in a semicircular apse. One of the church walls also forms one side of the courtyard, around which the other three buildings of the *mansio* are grouped.¹⁵

Unfortunately, we have no records early enough to give us a description of the Order's rural houses, but the fact that the properties *domorum* and *grangiorum* were sequestered by the inquisitors during the trial leads us to believe that characteristics of these houses may sometimes have resembled those of Cistercian granges.¹⁶ In the Lombardy area it seems that the granges may have had variable features. They were generally complex sets of agricultural buildings, often bounded by ditches, palisades or perimeter walls, and with big storehouses with naves (the granges), resembling French buildings of a similar type. They were flanked by buildings typical of rural Lombardy, with functions directly connected to the kind of crops grown.¹⁷

According to the sources the Templars sometimes renovated the houses assigned to them. This happened, for example, in Genoa and perhaps in Brescia, although the actual extent of the building works completed on the Order's initiative is not known.¹⁸ Particularly note-

V. Ascani, eds., *Monaci in armi. L'architettura sacra dei Templari attraverso il Mediterraneo*. Dal I Convegno «I Templari e s. Bernardo di Chiaravalle», Certosa di Firenze, 23–24 ottobre 1992 (Certosa di Firenze, 1996), p. 209; J. Fuguet Sans, “L'arquitectura dels Templers a la «Catalunya Nord»”, in *Les Templiers en pays catalan* (Canet, 1998), pp. 177, 185, 192, 199.

¹⁴ *Gli Atti della visita apostolica di s. Carlo Borromeo a Bergamo (1575)*, eds. A.G. Roncalli, P. Forno, 4 vols., *Fontes Ambrosiani* 13–17 (Florence, 1936–1957), I/2, p. 333.

¹⁵ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 2793, 18th of April 1766.

¹⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 322, p. 495, doc. 340, p. 553. It is necessary to note, though, that the same document also refers to property *prioratum* and *hospitalium*, and these terms are not frequently used to describe the Templar provinces and settlements.

¹⁷ L. Chiappa Mauri, *Paesaggi rurali di Lombardia. Secoli XII–XV* (Bari, 1990), pp. 39–41; R. Comba, “I Cistecensi fra città e campagne nei secoli XII e XIII. Una sintesi mutevole di orientamenti economici e culturali nell'Italia nord-occidentale”, *Studi Storici*, 26 (1985), pp. 241–244, reprinted in R. Comba, *Contadini, signori e mercanti nel Piemonte medievale* (Rome–Bari, 1988), pp. 21–39.

¹⁸ In Genoa this work was financed both by the Order and with donations from the congregation. In Brescia perhaps this was what started the relationship between the Temple and the local blacksmiths' guild.

worthy is the complex of Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza where the building works included the erection of a new bell tower. The Santa Maria tower, which collapsed after being struck by lightning in 1553, is now known to us thanks to some sketches by Renaissance architect Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. These drawings show the top of the tower as having four superimposed floors with a quadrangular base and thirteen spires.¹⁹ Sangallo was deeply impressed by the construction, with its complex array of superimposed volumes and alternating spires, and was influenced by it in his subsequent creations (Figure 1).²⁰

Also to be considered are the various outbuildings adjoining the Templar churches, which, in modern-age documents, are generally described as being grouped around a courtyard. Unfortunately, all but a few of these complexes, which housed the Templar communities, have been demolished, and in the surviving buildings the task of distinguishing the features that are traceable to Templar times appears to be extremely difficult.²¹

The only building to have retained some of its mediaeval characteristics is the church of Santa Maria di Isana near Livorno Ferraris (Figures 2, 3, 4). The building has a single nave and a quadrangular apse. The apse and the northern side have been completely rebuilt and there are no traces of the mediaeval period left in the church interior. The outside of the southern wall, divided into three equal sections, was adorned with a series of small arches, some of which are still visible. The height of the church was extended in the modern age and the arches mark the original height of the perimeter wall. The building was constructed in two stages (not necessarily at different times) and the lower part contains large amounts of recycled materials. The lower part of the southern side and gabled façade have been plastered over. The upper part of the façade is dominated by a mullioned window with two lights, whereas on the other side of the portal the traces of two single-light windows can be seen. The façade too has been heightened and here again the original height is marked by the arch decoration. The building work is characterised by alternating stones and bricks, also used ornamentally.

¹⁹ G. Valentini, "La torre di S. Maria del Tempio", *Bollettino Storico Piacentino*, 83 (1978), p. 139.

²⁰ G. Giovannoni, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1959), I, p. 21.

²¹ For an analysis of the Templar buildings in the Piedmont area see C. Tosco, "Architetture dei Templari in Piemonte", in *I Templari in Piemonte*, pp. 60–61.

The building has no particular features distinguishing it from local building practice. The type of building technique is associated with the middle of the twelfth century²² and so, despite the fact that it is only referred to in later documents, the church of Isana is probably datable to the first expansion stage of the Order in the Piedmont area.²³

2. *The road network and the location of the Templar houses*

The locations of the Templar convents that have been traced indicate there was a network of houses that covered the whole of the zone in question. Most of them were in suburban areas, but there were also rural houses whose locations can be attributed to a variety of factors, generally economic and property-related.²⁴ Mostly, though, the house locations followed the general trend of being near to major travel routes. This was related to the Order's role as a link between East and West and its need to maintain constant contact with the Holy Land garrisons and keep them supplied with reinforcements and provisions.²⁵

The road network in mediaeval North-west Italy was very complex. New routes were gradually being created to cater for the ever-changing transportation needs of people and goods. This process was also influenced by the desire and ability of political and ecclesiastical bodies to exert their controlling influence on the roads.²⁶

²² Tosco, "Architetture", p. 63.

²³ Tosco, "Architetture", pp. 61–63.

²⁴ The same is valid for the Hospital. Luttrell, "Iconography", pp. 27–28.

²⁵ Cf. Th. Szabò, "Templari e viabilità", in Minucci, Sardi, eds., *I Templari*, pp. 297–310. The fact that some of the Order's houses were called *mansiones* has led some historians to hypothesise that there may have been Templar houses in places with names derived from the Latin word *mansio*. In most cases there is no evidence in the sources to suggest that these places were linked to the Temple. Their names are only related to the fact that they stood on stretches of Roman roads and do not imply a Templar or Hospitaller presence in those places. Luttrell, "The Hospitaller Priory", p. 111, note 18.

²⁶ A.A. Settia, "Castelli e strade nel Nord Italia in età comunale: sicurezza, popolazione, «strategia»", *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 77 (1979), pp. 231–260; G. Sergi, *Potere e territorio sulla strada di Francia* (Naples, 1981); R. Comba, *Per una storia economica del Piemonte medievale. Strade e mercati dell'area sud-occidentale*, BSSS 191 (Turin, 1984); G. Sergi, "Monasteri sulle strade del potere. Progetti di intervento sul paesaggio politico medievale fra le Alpi e la pianura", in *Vie di comunicazione e potere, Quaderni Storici*, 61 (1986), pp. 33–56; Th. Szabò, "La politica stradale dei Comuni medioevali italiani",

One of the most important routes was the *via Francigena*, used by pilgrims on their way to the sacred places of Rome or Compostela and the main link between Italy and France. This road came down the Gran San Bernardo Pass to the Po Valley via Ivrea, Vercelli and Pavia, crossed the Po at Piacenza and continued towards Fiorenzuola d'Arda.²⁷ Templar communities were established in all these places. Templar houses were also situated on the alternative itineraries of the *Francigena*. This is the case of Chieri, Asti, Livorno Ferraris, Turin and Testona-Moncalieri, where there was an important Po river crossing. Some of the routes passing through these places went to Susa, where there was another Templar house, and then up to the Monginevro and Mont Cenis Passes.²⁸

The roads dating back to the Roman era were also important. The *via Postumia*, a possible alternative route to the *Francigena*, went from Genoa to Aquileia, via Cremona and Piacenza. The *via Aemilia* formed the basis of the route of the *Francigena* going south from Piacenza, passing through Fiorenzuola d'Arda. The *via Fulvia* linked Turin and Asti and then continued towards Tortona. The *Aurelia* linked up the ports of Genoa, Albenga and Ventimiglia.²⁹ Templar houses were established in all these places.

In Piedmont too, some of the villages where the Order was present, such as Savigliano and Murello, were well served by the road network, sited on both the "Via del sale" (Salt Road) that went to Liguria, and other routes leading to the Alpine passes. Mondovì was an important

ibid., pp. 77–115; Th. Szabò, "Il controllo dello spazio e le genesi della rete viaria comunale nel Medioevo", in G. Rossetti, ed., *Spazio, società e potere nell'Italia dei comuni* (Naples, 1986), pp. 27–36.

²⁷ R. Stopani, *Guida ai percorsi della via Francigena in Emilia e in Lombardia* (Florence, 1996); R. Stopani, *La via Francigena. Storia di una via nel Medioevo* (Florence, 1998); A. Zaninoni, "La città che ospitò il concilio: nodo viario e commerciale, tappa di pellegrinaggi nell'Italia padana", in *Il concilio di Piacenza e le Crociate* (Piacenza, 1996), pp. 155–170; E. Occhipinti, "Territorio e viabilità: l'azione del comune di Piacenza nel secolo XII", in R. Greci ed., *Studi sull'Emilia occidentale nel Medioevo: società e istituzioni* (Bologna, 2001), pp. 157–175.

²⁸ Sergi, *Potere e territorio*, pp. 31–32, 42–45.

²⁹ G. Corradi, "Le strade romane dell'Italia occidentale", *Miscellanea Storica Italiana*, IV ser., 9 (1968); M. Mirabella Roberti, "Le strade romane in Italia settentrionale", in *Le vie del cielo. Itinerari di pellegrini attraverso la Lombardia*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Milano, 22/23 novembre 1996 (Milan, 1998), pp. 69–70. A recent study theorises that the road from Piacenza to the Val di Susa was an unitary work, undertaken in Roman times. G. Radke, *Viae publicae romanae* (Bologna, 1981), or. ed. *Viae publicae romanae* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 267–270.

node in the roads leading to the Ligurian Riviera, as were Alba, Acqui and Alessandria.³⁰ There may also have been several more Templar houses in Piedmont (in Cuneo, Tenda, Fossano and Valmala) located at important points on the road network, although their existence is not certain. The Templar properties in Pieve di Teco stood on the road leading to the sea, and Osiglia was on the route leading to the ports of Noli and Finale (where the Templars owned more property).³¹

Voghera and Tortona were another two important traffic nerve centres in the Po Valley. From these cities there were roads leading to Alessandria, Chieri and Turin in Piedmont,³² Liguria via the Valle Scrivia,³³ and other places farther east. Cremona and Mezzano Chianতো were linked to a Po crossing and the *Postumia*, as well as to a series of alternative routes over the plain.³⁴

Present day Lombardy was also crossed by the *via Regina*, which came down from the Spluga Pass, skirted Lake Como and headed south via Milan and Pavia. The Templar houses of Pavia, Milan and Montesorso di Cermenate were connected to this road and there may also have been a Templar presence in Mandello Lario, where another road skirted the eastern shore of the lake.³⁵ The *Regina* followed the same route as the *Francigena* for a stretch between Pavia and Piacenza and then went on to cross the river Trebbia not far from Cabriolo, where there was another Templar house.³⁶ Brescia and Bergamo, mentioned in accounts of pilgrimages, were situated on routes that crossed over the plain to the Adriatic ports.³⁷

³⁰ Comba, *Per una storia*, p. 96ff., 190–203, 206–250; G. Barelli, “Le vie del commercio fra l’Italia e la Francia nel Medioevo”, *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 12 (1907), pp. 90–99, 110, 115; R. Comba, G. Sergi, “Piemonte meridionale e viabilità alpina: note sugli scambi commerciali con la Provenza”, *Provençe Historique*, 27 (1977), pp. 123–135; G.C. Bascapè, “Le vie dei pellegrinaggi attraverso le Alpi centrali e la pianura padana”, *Archivio della Svizzera Italiana*, 11 (1936), p. 24.

³¹ For other southbound roads see F. Varaldo Grottin, “I percorsi dei pellegrini diretti in Terrasanta tra Val di Tanaro e la Riviera ligure di Ponente”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, pp. 271–317.

³² Sergi, *Potere e territorio*, pp. 31–32, 42–45.

³³ Barelli, “Le vie del commercio”, pp. 90–99.

³⁴ Sergi, *Potere e territorio*, p. 35.

³⁵ Cf. *L’antica via regina: tra itinerari stradali e vie d’acqua del Comasco. Raccolta di studi* (Como, 1995).

³⁶ Stopani, “La Lombardia”, p. 49.

³⁷ L. Pagani, “Appunti sulla posizione e sul sito di Bergamo antica”, in R. Poggiani Keller ed., *Bergamo dalle origini al Medioevo* (Modena, 1986), p. 23; Bascapè, “Le vie dei pellegrinaggi”, pp. 26–30.

There were also Templar houses on a number of minor but very busy local routes.³⁸ Chieri, for example, was on a junction between several roads: the *via Fulvia*, leading to Asti, the road between the Roman village of *Industria* and Chieri, and the one that went to Santena, Villastellone and Turin.³⁹ Testona stood on the roads to Rivoli, Pinerolo and Turin.⁴⁰ The Templar properties in Zunico were positioned on a road that crossed the Lodigiano and linked Milan and Piacenza.⁴¹

The Templars were thus established along the most important routes in North-west Italy, and often on the more minor roads. This can also be confirmed by the trial inventories which mentioned the *pedagia* collected by the Templars near Casei Gerola and Tortona. Note, though, that this term could mean not only a toll for crossing a certain point in a road, but also a tax that has nothing to do with roads. Unfortunately, we do not know in this case if it means that the Templars actually demanded a tribute from travellers.⁴² Furthermore, some convents were situated not far from ferry crossings, such as at Casale Monferato and Cotrebbia. Even though some of the houses were in basically rural zones, the fact that most Templar establishments were located in the suburbs next to very busy roads emphasises how the Order's settlement strategy was closely related to local road networks, and this applies both to houses that already existed before the arrival of the Templars and those actually built by them. This choice of location was in line with the essential needs of an organisation whose very survival and efficiency depended on its capacity to maintain constant contact between the Western provinces and Outremer. Hence, in North-west Italy, with a road network developed since ancient times to connect the historic population centres and its natural function as a bridge between

³⁸ For example, in the area between the Tanaro and the Po the location of a number of Templar settlements was also related to Roman routes. A.A. Settia, "Strade romane e antiche pievi fra Tanaro e Po", *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 67 (1970), pp. 21, 25, 38–39, 51.

³⁹ Settia, "Strade romane", pp. 84–85.

⁴⁰ Barelli, "Le vie del commercio", pp. 102–103.

⁴¹ F. Ombrelli, *Militia Templi Mediolanensis. I monaci-cavalieri nella diocesi milanese* (Latina, 1999), pp. 22–25.

⁴² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 550; *Glossario latino-italiano. Stato della Chiesa-Veneto-Abruzzi*, ed. P. Sella, Studi e Testi 109 (Vatican City, 1944), p. 422; *Glossario latino-emiliano*, ed. P. Sella, Studi e Testi 74 (Vatican City, 1937), p. 257. For the travel routes in the area see A.A. Settia, "Strade e pellegrini nell'Oltrepò pavese. Una via «romea» dimenticata", in *Un santo pellegrino nell'Oltrepò pavese. Nel millenario di S. Bovo*. Atti del convegno nazionale di studi, *Annali di Storia Pavese*, 16–17 (1988), pp. 79–89.

East and West and between the Mediterranean area and the rest of Europe, the settlement and logistical needs of the Temple are particularly evident.

3. *Charitable and hospital activities*

Unlike the Knights of St. John, charitable and hospital work were not a main area of activity for the Templars. Consequently, they did not open hospitals independently in North-west Italy and did not even start running them until a few decades after their arrival in the region.⁴³ The Templars' possible involvement in charitable work in this area is linked mainly to the houses being positioned near to important roads, although some of the hospitals may have been given to the Order as a means for bishops to retain control over their territory—and the Orders active in it.

There is no evidence that shelter and care were actually provided for travellers and pilgrims in Templar *domus* and *mansiones*. In general, the charitable work performed was the distribution of alms, in accordance with the Rule of the Order.⁴⁴ As we shall see, in the area under consideration it is only in Milan that the documents make reference to particularly significant actions in this field. In 1180 a *consorcium Templi* is mentioned in Piacenza which may have performed charitable func-

⁴³ For hospitality and charity in mediaeval Italy see A. Vauchez, "Assistance et charité en Occident (XIII–XVIII)", in V. Bargagli Bagnoli, ed., *Domanda e consumi. Livelli e strutture nei secoli XIII–XVIII* (Florence, 1978), pp. 151–162; C.D. Fonseca, "Forme assistenziali e strutture caritative della Chiesa nel Medioevo", in *Stato e Chiesa di fronte al problema dell'assistenza* (Rome, 1982), pp. 13–29; G.G. Merlo, ed., *Esperienze religiose e opere assistenziali nei secoli XII e XIII* (Turin, 1987); *Città e servizi sociali nell'Italia dei secoli XII–XV. Atti del Dodicesimo Convegno di Studi, Pistoia 9–12 ottobre 1987* (Pistoia, 1990); A. Mariella, *Alle origini degli Ospedali bresciani, Supplemento ai «Commentari dell'Ateneo»* (Brescia, 1963); P. Racine, "Povertà e assistenza nel Medioevo: l'esempio di Piacenza", *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 62 (1978), pp. 505–520; M.P. Alberzoni, O. Grassi, eds., *La carità a Milano nei secoli XII–XV* (Milan, 1987); R. Crotti Pasi, "Il sistema caritativo assistenziale: strutture e forme di intervento", in *Storia di Pavia*, 4 vols. (Pavia, 1984–1995), III, *Dal libero comune alla fine del principato indipendente. 1024–1535*, Part I, *Società, istituzioni, religione nelle età del Comune e della Signoria*, pp. 359–408; R. Crotti, "Gli «hospitalia» e le strade del territorio pavese", in *Le vie del cielo*, pp. 91–105; Meyer, *Die Function*; G. Albin, *Città e ospedali nella Lombardia medievale* (Bologna, 1993), pp. 22–127; G. Albin, *Carità e governo delle povertà. Secoli XII–XV* (Milan, 2002).

⁴⁴ Cf. A.J. Forey, "The Charitable Activities of the Templars", *Viator*, 34 (2003), p. 107 ff.

tions, but there is no other record of it. Again in Piacenza, a *hospitalis Templi* is referred to in 1195. Unfortunately, we do not know where it was located and it is not identifiable as the hospital of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia run by the Templars in the following century. Nor is it possible in this case that it was a Hospitaller house, as this Order is noted later on in the same document. Since no further trace has been found of this first Templar hospital, it is its location in Piacenza next to very busy pilgrim routes that makes it quite likely that the citation refers to an actual hospital. Also, the fact that it is mentioned in a will together with a number of other hospitals in the city may confirm that it really was a facility of this kind.⁴⁵

In *Calventia*, however, we know neither whether the Humiliati actually complied with the bishop of Tortona's request for them to build a hospital, nor whether the Templars took over the running of it after acquiring the house.⁴⁶ There are also doubts over whether the house of Montesordo di Cermenate provided this kind of care. The document found amongst the records of the Templar house in Milan that makes reference to the hospital of San Biagio, San Leonardo and Santa Margherita in Montesordo does not state clearly whether this hospital belonged to the Templars and could therefore be a *munimen* that refers to properties acquired by the Order.⁴⁷ The hospital of Orto, probably close to Piacenza, is mentioned in an inquisitorial inventory, but without specifying whether it belonged to the Temple.⁴⁸ Another inventory drawn up during the trial refers to the Templar hospital of Cerro, but unfortunately no further information is given on this either.⁴⁹ Finally, it has not been proven that the hospital of Santa Maria sopra Olcio close to Mandello Lario belonged to the Templars.⁵⁰

In 1196, under the episcopate of Arduino di Valperga, bishop of Turin, the hospital of Sant'Egidio in Testona, located next to an impor-

⁴⁵ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, pp. 52, 78. For the ambiguous meaning of the word *hospitalis*, when referring to the houses of Military Orders, see Forey, "The Charitable Activities", p. 128ff. Some scholars identified Ugo, according to tradition the founder of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia, as Hugh of Payns. Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 5, 52, 78, 353; C. Poggiali, *Memorie storiche di Piacenza*, 10 vols. (Piacenza, 1757–1766, repr. 1927–1931), IV, pp. 98–99.

⁴⁶ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, I, II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

⁴⁷ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 76–78.

⁴⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 524.

⁴⁹ R. Caravita, "Nuovi documenti sull'ordine del Tempio dall'Archivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna", *Sacra Militia*, 3 (2002), pp. 235, 270–271.

⁵⁰ See below, Part II, p. 354.

tant crossing of the Po, was probably donated to the Templars. The hospital had fallen into disuse as a result of the wars in the region, and with this act the bishop aimed to reopen it and get it working again, whilst at the same time assigning the running of a very important location to an Order that he could trust.⁵¹ The terms of the agreement were that the bishop was to maintain possession of the Sant'Egidio bridge, for which the Military Order had to pay an annual rent, while the Templars were to renovate the bridge and the buildings of the hospital.⁵² The fact that the agreement was endorsed by Pietro Diani, cardinal priest of Santa Cecilia, is a further sign of its importance.⁵³

The episcopal authority assigned three other hospitals to the Templars: Sant'Eustachio in Pavia (1201),⁵⁴ San Giacomo in Tortona (1252)⁵⁵ and Sant'Egidio della Misericordia in Piacenza (about 1280).⁵⁶ In 1201, in Pavia, the Templar master Barozio, the same person who was probably a protagonist in the *Calventia* dispute, received the investiture of the hospital of Sant'Eustachio. It was likely to have been a humble institution⁵⁷ and perhaps the bishop of Pavia's intention in assigning it to the Templars was to raise its status. This transaction, ratified in 1205,⁵⁸ granted the Templars the right to take over the running of a hospital

⁵¹ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Torino*, doc. 94, pp. 96–97.

⁵² In 1204 this work was not yet completed. *Appendice al «Libro Rosso» del comune di Chieri*, ed. F. Gabotto, BSSS 76 (Pinerolo–Turin, 1913–1924), doc. 39, pp. XXIX–XXXII. For the *ospedali di ponte* see Th. Szabó, “Costruzioni di ponti e di strade in Italia fra il IX e il XIV secolo. La trasformazione in strutture organizzative”, in J.-C. Maire Vigeur, A. Paravicini Bagliani, eds., *Ars et ratio. Dalla torre di Babele al ponte di Rialto* (Palermo, 1990), pp. 73–91; G. Albinì, “Strade e ospitalità, ponti e ospedali di ponte nell'Emilia occidentale (secc. XII–XIV)”, in Greci, ed., *Studi sull'Emilia occidentale*, pp. 205–205, reprinted in Albinì, *Carità*, pp. 117–154.

⁵³ G. Casiraghi, “I Cavalieri del Tempio sulla collina torinese”, *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 91 (1993), p. 238. Forey (“The Charitable Activities”, p. 134) notes that this deed concentrated on the rebuilding of the bridge rather than on the recommencement of the hospital activities. This could be due not so much to the Templars' lack of interest in these activities but more to the bishop's desire to make this important crossing usable again. For Pietro Diani see W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216. Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.*, Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom I/6 (Wien, 1984), p. 85 ff.; W. Maleczek, “Diani, Pietro”, *DBI*, 39 (Rome, 1991), pp. 648–650; Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 34–35, 57, 63, 72, 117–118, 134.

⁵⁴ Robolini, *Notizie*, IV, p. 68.

⁵⁵ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, p. 209.

⁵⁶ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

⁵⁷ Crotti Pasi, “Il sistema caritativo assistenziale”, p. 372.

⁵⁸ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II, p. 449.

built close to their house, in a place frequented by pilgrims and travellers in general.⁵⁹

As for Tortona, the agreement reached there was the culmination of decades of effort by the Order to expand in this area. The argument between the Military Order and the bishop of Tortona over the *Calventia* house was now resolved and the Templars had at last found a way to strengthen their presence in the area and on the route to Genoa.

Also, the acquisition of the hospital of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia in Piacenza by the Templars was to assume great significance. The Order had one of its most important houses here, to be further strengthened by the addition of the hospital. This acquisition came during a period of great activity for the Templars, who were busy with the construction of the bell tower of the Piacenza *mansio*. After handing over the Santa Maria complex to the Dominicans at the start of the fourteenth century, Sant'Egidio became the fulcrum of Templar presence in the city.⁶⁰

Information on the actual charitable work carried out by the Templars is very scarce. No data are available for Testona, Pavia and Tortona and this has cast doubt on whether the original intended roles of these hospitals were actually fulfilled.⁶¹ It should also be noted that the hospitals of Pavia and Tortona are not mentioned in the trial inventories and this seems to further suggest that they were no longer working.⁶² Also, for Sant'Egidio della Misericordia there is only a brief and somewhat ambiguous mention of charitable activity in the inquisitorial inventories.⁶³

However, the acquisition of these hospitals allowed the Temple to strengthen its presence in locations of considerable importance. The assignment of these facilities to the Templars was also an acknowledgement of their positive influence in the area and a way of linking an

⁵⁹ Crotti Pasi, "Il sistema caritativo", p. 373.

⁶⁰ See below, Chapter IV and Part II, pp. 170–174, 268–269.

⁶¹ Forey, "The Charitable Activities", pp. 138–139. As far as Testona is concerned, the sources do not specify whether these activities, noted explicitly in the deed of assignment of the house to the Temple, were still practiced. The Order paid the annuity for the hospital of Pavia until at least 1305, but no document talks of the hospitality provided here. Pavia, Archivio Vescovile, Diocesi di Pavia, Mensa Vescovile, no. 281, 26th of January 1294, no. 282, 6th of February 1295, no. 293, 14th of December 1305. No information can be found on Tortona either, not even in the detailed trial records.

⁶² Not a single trial document about Testona has survived and reached us.

⁶³ "Item de ordeo dedi conventuy nostro pro infirmis". *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533; Forey, "The Charitable Activities", p. 139, note 208.

order that was exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction to the bishopric, at least partially.⁶⁴ Mostly the agreements only involved the payment of an annual rent. Sant'Egidio della Misericordia, where the appointment of the hospital rector was also subject to the bishop's approval, was a special case.⁶⁵ It should also be remembered that up to the end of the twelfth century communal institutions tried in several ways to interfere with the running of local hospitals, and assigning them to the Temple reinforced their dependence on the bishopric and could therefore prevent this kind of interference.⁶⁶ Giving these hospitals over to the Templars was thus quite an important factor in the dynamics of local power relations.

The hospitals may also have been a gathering point for Templar *familiars*. As mentioned previously, something defined quite vaguely as a *consorcium Templi*, perhaps dedicated to charitable activity, was noted in Piacenza in as early as 1180. At least one *conversa* is attested to in Sant'Egidio della Misericordia in 1310.⁶⁷ It could also have been that the laymen and *conversi* already working in the hospitals when they were taken over by the Templars collaborated with them or were admitted into the Order with the change of management.⁶⁸

However, it was in a house with no hospital facility that the Templars' charitable activities were carried out with the cooperation of local lay circles. In 1226 in Milan a *scola mansionis de Templo* is attested to, with two *decani*, the Templar Giovanni, presbyter and preceptor of the house of Santa Maria, and Domenico de Piccorano, a layman.⁶⁹ Unfor-

⁶⁴ For the relations between bishops and city hospitals see Albini, *Città e ospedali*, pp. 20–83.

⁶⁵ The document noting Raimondo Fontana's election as rector of Sant'Egidio refers to the *invocata episcopi gratia*. Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^r. The document is stored separately, with restored material.

⁶⁶ Albini, *Città e ospedali*, pp. 76–83.

⁶⁷ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, pp. 52, 72; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 532. A mention is made of a *conversa* owning property in Castell'Arquato—it is not specified whether she belonged to the Piacenza house—and there are also two references to a *conversa mansionis*. We do not know whether this was the same person. It seems that the Templars of Reggio Emilia had entrusted their hospital to a lay confraternity. O. Rombaldi, *Hospitale Sanctae Mariae Novae. Saggio sull'assistenza in Reggio Emilia* (Reggio Emilia, 1965), p. 21. There was also a *conversus*—although it is uncertain whether he was a Templar affiliate—at the hospital of Orto. *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 524.

⁶⁸ This happened in the Sant'Ambrogio hospital in Modena. Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 35–37.

⁶⁹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 69–70.

tunately, we do not know exactly what this association implied in terms of activities, but it seems likely that it could have been similar to the other institutions attested to in Milan during this same period that were called *shole*. These were confraternities that carried out charity work in various hospitals in the city.⁷⁰ The word *decanus* corresponds to a term that had already been used for some time in these institutes, even though it generally only referred to the representatives of the lay section of the confraternity.⁷¹ What is significant is that, in the Templar case, the *decani* were not both laymen but a layman and a cleric, representing both of the groups that were probably behind this initiative. It may well have been possible that the lay group comprised a certain Oldrado Rogiato, mentioned in the 1226 document, and Arrigo, the *conversus* of the Milan Temple referred to in 1244.⁷² Other *familiares* present in the Milanese Templar house were attested to in 1308.⁷³

The fact that charity work was by then a well-established practice in the Milan Templar house was also borne out by the will of Milanese citizen Obizzo Mussini who, in 1302, decided that after the death of his heirs his inheritance should go to the Colombetta hospital and the Templar *mansio*, whence it was to be distributed to the poor. In case of disagreement between the Temple and the Colombetta Hospital, the master of the Brolo Hospital should act as arbiter of the quarrel. In this document, the Templar house is grouped together with other institutions dedicated entirely to providing care and shelter, and it is clear that the Milan Templars played a decisive role in this area, fully upholding the duties stated in their Rule.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Cf. G.G. Merlo, "Religiosità e cultura dei laici nel secolo XII", in *L'Europa dei secoli XI e XII fra novità e tradizione: sviluppi di una cultura*. Atti della decima settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola 25–29 agosto 1986 (Milan, 1989), pp. 201–215; Albini, *Città e ospedali*, pp. 19–46.

⁷¹ *Antichi diplomi degli arcivescovi di Milano e note di diplomatica episcopale*, ed. G.C. Bascapè (Florence, 1937), doc. 10, pp. 79–81. In the Milanese Brolo hospital the two components were divided up into a *pia constitutio*, formed by *decani* or lay *fratres*, and a *sacra conversatio*, made up of *conversi*. Albini, *Città e ospedali*, pp. 37–38. For the frequent quarrels between the two components of these institutions see *ibid.*, pp. 26–34, 39–46.

⁷² Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 1, p. 439.

⁷³ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308. In 1291 a charter refers to a certain Albertino who probably was a *familiaris* of the Milanese house. Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 81.

⁷⁴ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of September 1302. For the Brolo and Colombetta hospitals see A. Borghino, "L'esempio di un ospedale: La Colombetta", in Alberzoni, Grassi, eds., *La carità*, pp. 225–238; A. Borghino, "Laici e beneficenza a Milano tra XIII e XIV secolo:

4. *General orientations in management of wealth and possessions*

Studies of the economic activity of the Templars in the Western provinces have concentrated mainly on ascertaining whether the Order used traditional or innovative methods in the management and utilisation of its assets.⁷⁵ It should not be forgotten that the European houses were called on to support the Order's war effort in the East by their recruitment and production. The fact that they managed to pay this contribution (*responsio*) implies that the individual Templar houses were not just self-sufficient, but capable of producing a surplus to sell or send to the Holy Land.⁷⁶

The fragmentary state of the documentation on North-west Italy makes an accurate assessment of the entity and characteristics of the Templars' assets impossible. This section will limit itself to a general outline of the Order's economic policies, underlining the continuous or innovative factors suggested by the available data. In the first place, how the Templars' assets were accumulated will be considered. Then the different crops cultivated on the Templar lands will be looked at, and the ways the Templar properties were managed.

The estate management policy of the Templars in North-west Italy seemed to be based first and foremost on a careful purchasing policy, tending to lead to the formation of estates with adjoining properties that could be organised and run in a rational, functional way. Initially, the typical Templar estate was in the immediate vicinity of the house, tending later on to expand into neighbouring zones and the sur-

il caso della Colombetta", *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XI ser., 5 (1998), pp. 47–76; Albini, *Città e ospedali*, pp. 69–72.

⁷⁵ For the economic activity of the Military Orders, for instance, see *Les ordres militaires, la vie rurale et le peuplement en Europe occidentale (XIIe–XVIIIe siècles)*. Sixièmes Journées internationales d'histoire, Centre culturel de l'Abbaye de Flaran, 21–23 septembre 1984, Cahiers de Flaran 6 (Auch, 1986); Bronstein, *The Hospitallers*, pp. 11–102; Josserand, *Église*, p. 299 ff., p. 463 ff. For the Temple see Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 188–262; Demurger, *Vie et mort*, pp. 131–151; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 250 ff.; L. Verdon, "Les Templiers en Roussillon: formation et mise en valeur de leur patrimoine foncier", in *Les Templiers en pays catalan*, pp. 39–57; Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 191–235.

⁷⁶ This was the aim of the houses of the other Military Orders too. For Italy, for example, see A. Luttrell, "Les exploitations rurales des Hospitaliers en Italie au XIV^e siècle", in *Les ordres militaires, la vie rurale*, pp. 107–120, reprinted in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992), essay XII. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the revenues from North-west Italy and how they were despatched to the East. For some interesting remarks about the *responsiones* and their collection see Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 323–324.

rounding countryside. This process was aided both by donations from devotees and by a conscious expansionist drive within the Order. An example of the initial tendency to form united, easily administrable estates can be found in the records of Albenga. Here it can be seen that the house was constantly increasing its possessions with a series of purchases. The fact that the areas of land between the newly-purchased lots were often already owned by the Templars is further evidence of the tendency to create united estates.⁷⁷

The fragmentary nature of the records prevents us from knowing exactly how the Templars created subordinate houses in rural areas and whether or not they were run independently. The house of Paciliano, for example, which was presumably little and not very far from the suburban house of Casale Monferrato, had an independent preceptor. In other cases (Montesordo di Cermenate and Casei Gerola), we do not know whether the subordinate status mentioned in some of the documents was only temporary. Only in the case of *Calventia* can we be sure that the former Humiliati house had to be incorporated with that of Casei Gerola.⁷⁸

There is a list of the characteristics of the possessions and entitlements related to the Templar estate in the Albenga deed of sale from 1191. In it reference is made to all the houses, properties, lands, fixed and moveable assets with all related entitlements, rents and *albergarie* in the castles, *ville* and in the city and lands pertaining to that house. It goes on to list the *sedimina* and *clausure*, fields, meadows, vines and woods together with their entitlements, conditions of use and all related cash collections.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 17–73. See also below, Part II, pp. 229–234.

⁷⁸ For the cases mentioned also see the descriptions in Part II. In several different places where there used to be Templar possessions there are still to this day farms that belonged to the Knights of St. John, although we are unable to know whether they were created by the Templars. For some agricultural complexes of the Knights of St. John see Ombrelli, *Militia Templi*, pp. 11–15; F. Serena, “I Templari nel Piacentino”, in *I Templari a Piacenza*, p. 58ff.

⁷⁹ «Accepimus argenti denariorum bonorum ianuensium libras septecentum quinquaginta (...) pro omnis casis et rebus, territoriis ac substanciis illius iuris nostris propriis ac liberaliis, mobilibus et immobilibus se seque moventibus rebus (...) cum omni iure et honore et fictis et albergariis tam in castris quam in villis et civitate et in eorum territoriis pertinentibus, sediminibus cum hedificiis desuper clausuris, campis, pratis, vineis, silvis, nemoribus cum areis earum et zerbis communanciis, una cum ussibus, condicionibus, amisteribus, arractis, covis, mannis, precariis, coloneis, fodria, dactis, castelanciis, fictis et redditibus, districtis et comendacionibus, ussibus aquarum aquarumque ductibus, cultis et incultis, divissis et indivissis, rupis, rupinis, moledinis et piscacionibus,

Two kinds of property were included in the Albenga sale: the adjoining properties, next to the Templar house of San Calocero, and the other more scattered properties, spread over an extensive area of land. The Temple, in fact, sold the more outlying, scattered properties because they were harder to run and rented those that were easier to organise.⁸⁰

The types of property listed above (cultivated fields, uncultivated land, pasture and *sedimina*, with all the multiple use entitlements and related cash collection rights) can also be found at other Templar houses. One of the most frequently attested houses is that of Brescia. Its property is mentioned in the *Liber Potheris comunis Brixie* in relation to the town extension works carried out near the *mansio* in 1239 and 1249. This source refers to various areas of cultivated land that were rented out, together with a willow plantation, some *case murate*, an *aqueductus*,⁸¹ a pigsty⁸² and a press.⁸³ The presence of a number of dwellings on the lands rented by the Templars may imply that they encouraged the building of new houses, but unfortunately there is no evidence of this in the records.⁸⁴

In Onzato, near Brescia, the Templars owned large tracts of farming land, woods, meadows and a *sedimen* with house. It was stated in the contract for these lands that the tenants had to pledge to plant a hundred willows on their land every year, without uprooting or felling those already present. These trees are typical of the humid zones in the Po Valley and the land they occupy can make either excellent pasture or be cultivated with another crop. They provide not only timber, but also wicker for use in vineyards.⁸⁵

pallutis, in canalibus et concilibus et locis omnibus et ex omnibus ad istas res pertinentibus». Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 79–80.

⁸⁰ See above, Chapter I, pp. 47–48 and below, Part II, pp. 234–235.

⁸¹ *Liber potheris comunis civitatis Brixie*, eds. F. Bettoni Cazzago, L.F. Fè d'Ostiani, HPM 19 (Turin, 1900), col. 487.

⁸² *Liber potheris*, col. 485.

⁸³ *Liber potheris*, col. 434.

⁸⁴ For similar operations, carried out also by the Hospitallers in Milan see G. Albini, “La *domus Sanctae Crucis* dei Gerosolimitani e la società milanese tra XII e XIII secolo”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, pp. 305–314 reprinted in Albini, *Carità*, pp. 83–116.

⁸⁵ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, no. 5; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 6, p. 373; F. Menant, *Campagnes lombardes du Moyen Âge. L'économie et la société rurales dans la région de Bergame, de Crémone et de Brescia du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 281 (Rome, 1993), pp. 208–209.

Another quite frequently attested estate, mentioned in documents from various sources, belonged to the Order's house in Chieri. This house provides a typical example of the difficulties related to studying the estates of Templar convents in North-west Italy: in most cases, its properties are simply mentioned in lists of bordering lands and it is very hard to reconstruct the types of farming and the actual extent of the whole estate belonging to the Order. We can, however, affirm that the lands were in areas where there were vineyards, cereal crops and stretches of woodland.⁸⁶

In the same way, the inventories from the trial period on the estates of the houses of Pavia, Casei Gerola, Tortona, Piacenza, Toricella Verzate and Cremona note that the most common types of farming were cereal crops and wine production. In addition, there were also vegetable crops, cheese production and horse and pig rearing.⁸⁷ The cultivated fields were bordered by large meadows and tracts of uncultivated land, such as in Montedonico, where the *brayda* was more than double the cultivated land.⁸⁸ The gathering of timber was also fairly widely practiced.⁸⁹

The earnings from the rental of these lands and quite a large number of houses constituted an important part of the income of the Templar convents. The inquisitorial accounts noted that the house of Cremona had almost 150 tenants.⁹⁰ The inventories also mentioned a large number of houses for which rent was paid, especially in Tortona, Pavia and Torricella Verzate. This information makes it reasonable to assume that the Templars encouraged the building of new dwellings on their lands. Unfortunately, though, we have been unable to find a single contract *ad domum faciendam* stipulated by the Order.⁹¹

There are few references to mills. One document mentions the mills on the river Lambro Grande, granted to the Humiliati house of Brera. In the Gorra dispute there are specific references to the future construc-

⁸⁶ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 418, note 335; *I più antichi catasti del comune di Chieri (1253)*, ed. M.C. Daviso di Charvensod, BSSS 161 (Turin, 1939), pp. 11, 12, 32, 58, 65, 78, 87, 104, 111, 118, 153, 155, 181, 184–185, 207, 224; *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda fino all'anno 1313*, eds. F. Gabotto, D. Chiattonne, G. Roberti, 2 vols., BSSS 11–12 (Pinerolo, 1901–1902), I, doc. 108, p. 111, II, doc. 534, p. 134, doc. 541, p. 138, doc. 588, p. 171; *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 211, p. 174.

⁸⁷ For example, see *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 580.

⁸⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, pp. 485–486.

⁸⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 532–533.

⁹⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 514ff.

⁹¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 548–549, doc. 350, pp. 569–574.

tion of a mill, complete with all the equipment necessary for milling.⁹² Traces of buildings of this type have been found in *Crixanus*, Bergamo and Piacenza.⁹³ In Testona the Templar house was entitled to a share of the revenues of the mills on the Po.⁹⁴

Unfortunately, nothing is known of the general extent of the Temple's possessions in North-west Italy. A comparison has been made between the size of part of the Sant'Egidio estate and those of other ecclesiastical bodies in the area, on the basis of local land registers, and the results show that the Temple's possessions were much less extensive than those of San Solutore, a prosperous and well-established monastery in the area.⁹⁵ The scope of this comparison, though, is very limited, and the fragmentary nature of the documentation prevents any kind of general estimate being made for other places in North-west Italy and for the region in general.

The documents available to us are typical of the normal kinds of contracts in this area. They are generally emphyteutic investitures or leases, sometimes stipulated *ad meliorandum*.⁹⁶ Mostly they involved no more than the payment of rent (in kind, money or both).

We do not know the size of the section of the estate run directly by the Temple or how big the labour force was.⁹⁷ What does seem signif-

⁹² M.P. Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati». Uomini e donne nelle prime comunità umiliate lombarde", *Quaderni di Storia Religiosa*, 1 (1994), pp. 101–109; *Il Libro Rosso*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87.

⁹³ Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 3, p. 196; *Codex Astensis qui de Malabayla communiter nuncupatur*, ed. Q. Sella, 4 vols. (Rome, 1887), III, doc. 754, pp. 812–814; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 527, 530, 531; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 26th of May 1268, 2nd of December 1268, 8th of July 1304.

⁹⁴ M.C. Daviso di Charvensod, "I catasti di un comune agricolo piemontese del XIII secolo", *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 54 (1956), p. 52; G. Casiraghi, "Fondazioni templari lungo la via Francigena: da Torino a Chieri e da Testona-Moncalieri a S. Martino di Gorra", in G. Sergi, ed., *Luoghi di strada nel Medioevo. Fra il Po, il mare e le Alpi occidentali* (Turin, 1996), p. 143.

⁹⁵ The Temple had 2,193 *tabule* of land in the Sant'Egidio district, while the monastery of San Solutore had 32,134 *tabule* around Moncalieri. Daviso di Charvensod, "I catasti", pp. 52, 55; Casiraghi, "Fondazioni templari", pp. 143–144.

⁹⁶ For example, see *Lanfranco (1202–1226)*, eds. H.C. Krueger, R. Reynolds, 3 vols., *Notai liguri dei sec. XII e XIII* 6 (Genoa, 1951–1953), I, doc. 289, p. 134; Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 8, p. 220.

⁹⁷ For the running of Templar estates in other European regions see M. Miguet, "Le personnel des commanderies du Temple et de l'Hôpital en Normandie", in A. Luttrell, L. Pressouyre, eds., *La Commandarie, institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2002), pp. 96–97.

icant, however, is the efforts the Templars dedicated to a number of new areas. This was particularly true for the estates of the houses of Testona-Moncalieri, Gorra and Milan. In the first of these houses, the hypothesis is that the Templars contributed to promoting the development of a new settlement in the area. Towards the end of the twelfth century the village of Moncalieri developed right next to the Templar house.⁹⁸ One of the main reasons for inhabiting the area in this case was that it was at a crossing of the Po. On examining the land register of the village that formed next to the Order's house, it can be seen that there was a high number of artisans and merchants. Many of the people in this area owned no land, just their own home. This would appear to confirm the "trade vocation" of this settlement. The presence of the Templars probably acted as a catalyst to the development of the area, perhaps also encouraging the reclamation and parcelling out of the land.⁹⁹

The Templar estate in Gorra, in the Piedmont area, was also the scene of the creation of a new settlement. In this case it was the commune of Chieri that took the initiative in encouraging the populating of the district. Both in Gorra and Moncalieri the estates were in a good position in relation to the local waterways.¹⁰⁰ The Templars' interest in this aspect is further confirmed by their involvement in disputes over questions related to waterways in Piacenza in 1180 and 1253.¹⁰¹

In 1304 Santa Maria del Tempio in Milan was involved in a land exchange in which the Templars traded several plots of cultivated land in the suburbs for lands in the *contado* to the south, in Zunico and Villanova.¹⁰² Only a small portion of the newly acquired lands were cultivated. The area of the plots exchanged by the Temple was less than that of the lands gained in exchange and the value of the two lots was not the same. The Milan preceptor had to pay the difference in money.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ See below, Chapter IV and Part II, pp. 163–164, 286–287.

⁹⁹ *I catasti di un comune agricolo*, p. 48.

¹⁰⁰ See below, Chapter IV and Part II, pp. 161–164, 285–287, 303–306.

¹⁰¹ *Le carte degli archivi parmensi*, III, doc. 509, pp. 400–402; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 25th of September 1253.

¹⁰² Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304.

¹⁰³ The availability of money highlighted here by the Milanese Templars seems to confirm that the operation was planned previously. There was a similar case in 1226, where the money needed for a land purchase was the result of a previous sale.

The transaction was no small matter, and in the document it is noted that it was backed by a letter of attorney, given to the Milan preceptor by the provincial master. The fact that the letter is dated 1300, i.e. four years before the transaction, is significant. The Templar preceptor of Milan may actually have asked for this authorisation, seeing as he had decided to embark on a long series of particularly demanding economic operations. This transaction was thus only a stage in a bigger land development plan. Approval for the transaction was also requested from the Grand Master of the Order.

According to the notes on the lands bordering the newly acquired plots, the Templars already had some possessions in this area before the land exchange in 1304. This transaction can thus also be seen as a conscious attempt by the Order to concentrate and enhance their property in the area. The lands that the Order gave away, near to the city, were in a district where property was increasingly fragmented, making it difficult to create a larger estate. Besides, in this period the *contado* to the south of Milan was gaining importance thanks to the actions of church bodies and individuals, who were tending to combine their acquired lands and create a network of irrigation ditches.¹⁰⁴ Another important incentive for creating these large-scale, systematic land areas was the kind of crop that was to be grown there: fodder.¹⁰⁵ There was a big demand for fodder on the livestock farms run by ecclesiastical institutions close to Milan, especially those using intensive methods.¹⁰⁶ Some of the figures in the 1304 deed show that the situation was more or less the same in Zunico. The description of the property acquired by the Temple refers to an irrigation network¹⁰⁷ and it may have been that these plots were already partly designated as pasture.

Finally, on assessing the accounts from the inquisitorial administration period (1308–1310), it can be seen that these enterprises closed their accounts with a positive balance, albeit with quite variable incomes.¹⁰⁸

Tacchella, *Insediamenti*, pp. 69–70. It is also worth noting that the Templar preceptor Giacomo Fontana had a considerable amount of ready cash when he was arrested in 1308. *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 523, 530.

¹⁰⁴ Chiappa Mauri, *Paesaggi rurali*, p. 95. This policy was also implemented in Monluè by the Humiliati, who rented lands owned by the Templars.

¹⁰⁵ Chiappa Mauri, *Paesaggi rurali*, pp. 96–99.

¹⁰⁶ Comba, “I Cistercensi”, p. 253.

¹⁰⁷ Artificial canals and ditches are mentioned in the document. The term *cocha* does not mean a canal, but a plot of land. *Glossario latino-emiliano*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁸ See below, Chapter V, pp. 176–178.

Given that the inquisitors had to cover a wide range of expenses that had nothing to do with the normal management of the estate, it is justifiable to think that the houses mentioned here were generally solvent and able to provide their contribution to supporting the Order in the Holy Land.

In conclusion it can be said that, in economic terms, the Templars in North-west Italy adapted their ways of running their estates and exploiting the land to suit the actual characteristics of the area and the kinds of farming practiced and crops grown. They encouraged the upgrading of formerly uncultivated areas and perhaps the creation of lots where new dwellings were built. The Order's management policies were dictated in equal measure by tradition and innovation, with a kind of flexibility that responded to the particular needs of this institution. However, according to the available records, the economic policy of the Temple seemed to be no different to that of the other ecclesiastical organisations active in the area the same period.

CHAPTER III

HIERARCHICAL ORGANISATION

1. *The Templar provinces of Italy and Lombardy*

The Templars' organisational structure in Italy was divided up into three main provinces. The central-northern part of the peninsula, including Sardinia, was one administrative unit and was called *Italia* until the 1270s. According to the trial depositions it consisted of *Lombardia*, *Tuscia*, *Patrimonium beati Petri in Tuscia*, *Roma*, *ducatus Spoletanus*, *Campania et Marittima*, *Marchia et Sardinia*.¹ The term *Lombardia* is used here to mean northern Italy plus Emilia Romagna. The rest of Italy, which also incorporated the Abruzzi, was divided into two districts, *Apulia* and *Sicilia*.² From the surviving primary sources, and in particular from the testimonies given at the trial, it appears evident that there were separate, parallel hierarchies for governing the central-northern and southern districts. The province of Italy was under the ultimate control of a single dignitary. The situation in the South was more complex, and it was only for short periods that the two Templar provinces of *Apulia* and *Sicilia* (which included Calabria) had a single preceptor.³

Some scholars recently argued that in reality the government functions of either the officers called *magistri Italie* or *totius Italie* extended to the whole peninsula, including the South.⁴ In the documents up

¹ For example, see *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 132–133, 173.

² G. Silvestrelli, “Le chiese e i feudi dell’Ordine dei Templari e dell’Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme nella regione romana”, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, V ser., 26 (1917), p. 52; G. Lamattina, *I Templari nella storia* (Rome, 1981), p. 81; Tommasi, “L’ordine dei Templari”, p. 5; Bramato, *Storia*, I, pp. 157–159; F. Tommasi, “Fonti epigrafiche dalla *domus Templi* di Barletta per la cronotassi degli ultimi maestri provinciali dell’ordine nel regno di Sicilia”, in Coli, De Marco, Tommasi, eds., *Militia Sacra*, pp. 177–184; F. Tommasi, “I Templari in Italia”, DIP 9 (Rome, 1997), col. 899.

³ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 132, 133, 188–189, 201; Houben, “Templari”, pp. 263–267; Bramato, *Storia*, I, p. 158.

⁴ F. Tommasi, “I Templari in Italia”, DIP 9 (Rome, 1997), col. 899. Loredana

to the end of the 1270s there are several references to these provincial dignitaries. However, in subsequent sources they are not mentioned any more and in the statements taken during the inquiry, that specifically regard the last twenty years of the thirteenth century and the first decade of the next one, the Templar central-northern province is always referred to in terms of its individual constituent regions, and never as Italy. Only after ascertaining the limits of the authority of the Masters of all Italy and Italy will it be possible to decide whether the surviving information is connected to a mere variation in the terminology concerning these dignitaries and the district they controlled or to a change in the Order's administrative setup in the peninsula.

First it is necessary to emphasize that the meaning of terms such as *Italia* or *Lombardia* in this period still needs investigation. The areas they referred to are often very difficult to define and the sense of these words usually changes depending on the kind of the primary sources and on when and where they were written.⁵

Only the provincial masters Guglielmo da Melzo, Giacomo de Boscho, and Dalmazio de Fenolar are referred to as *maior magister mansionum Templi totius Ytalie* (1227), *magister et preceptor totius Italie* (1245), *magister et preceptor domorum et mansionum Militie Templi per totam Italiam* (1256) respectively.⁶ Since it has been argued that these officers enjoyed wider authority than the Masters of Italy, one has to examine the use of these qualifications.⁷

Dalmazio de Fenolar is denoted as *magister et preceptor domorum et mansionum Militie Templi per totam Italiam* in 1256⁸ when he appointed Alberto, preceptor of the Templar house of Florence, as *sindicus et nuncius* for *Tuscia*. Amongst the witnesses present on this occasion there was Giacomo Torroella, preceptor of *Apulia*, and a certain Bianco, who may have been Bianco da Pigazzano, future preceptor of Lombardy and then Italy. The presence of a preceptor of *Apulia* and perhaps a

Imperio thinks that the Masters of *Apulia* and *Sicilia* were subordinate to the Masters of Italy until 1266. L. Imperio, "Il Magistero d'Italia", in *Atti dell'XI Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Trento, 1993), p. 42 ff.

⁵ G. Andenna, *Storia della Lombardia medioevale* (Turin, 1998), pp. 3–19, and in particular pp. 8–9. This essay also appeared in G. Galasso, ed., *Storia d'Italia*, 25 vols. (Turin, 1979–1995), IV, *Comuni e signorie nell'Italia settentrionale: la Lombardia*, pp. 3–19 (with the title "Territorio e popolazione").

⁶ See below, pp. 95, 97.

⁷ F. Tommasi, "I Templari in Italia", DIP 9 (Rome, 1997), col. 899.

⁸ The document, according to the Florentine style, bears the date 1255.

Lombard legate could imply that Dalmazio had a certain pre-eminence over the other Italian provincial masters, but the document seal bears the phrase *S. Militum Templi per Ytaliā* and it is hard to believe that such an important position, higher than that of the *magister Italie*, did not have its own specific seal.⁹ Therefore, the terms *per Ytalia* and *per totam Italianam* had essentially the same meaning¹⁰ and the expression *per totam Italianam* probably referred to the further subdivision of the province into smaller districts.

Subsequently Enrico da Treviso is simultaneously referred to as both *magister domorum et mansionum Milicie Templi in Italia*, and *domorum militie Templi magister in Ytalia generalis* and the use of these expressions in the same charter demonstrates that they had the same meaning.¹¹ Also, Bianco da Pigazzano, Enrico's successor, was denoted as *domorum militie templi Magister in Ytalia generalis preceptor* (c.1271 – c.1285),¹² and the trial depositions clearly show that his authority did not extend to the whole peninsula but only to its northern and central part.¹³

There is no evidence which clearly confirms that dignitaries simply identified as Masters of Italy were also responsible for the South of Italy. The only attestation to a master of Italy being active in the South of Italy occurs in 1254 when Dalmazio de Fenolar, in his role as *magister Italie*, was in Barletta and authenticated a document from 1258 regarding the local Templar house.¹⁴ It is not possible to ascertain whether the post of master of *Apulia* was vacant at that time (the next mention of this provincial master dates from 1256 and refers to Giacomo Torroella) but Dalmazio's action seems to coincide with a temporary state of affairs or substitution, probably connected to the delicate period of the recovery of the Templar possessions expropriated by Frederick II.¹⁵

⁹ All the more so because the preceptor of *Apulia*, a possible subordinate to the Master of all Italy, was also there.

¹⁰ Bini, "Dei Templieri e del loro processo", doc. 3, p. 441.

¹¹ E. Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari a Modena e l'ospitale del ponte di S. Ambrogio", *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Modenesi*, XI ser., 6 (1984), pp. 48, 52.

¹² See below, pp. 98–100.

¹³ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 203.

¹⁴ F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive de Episcopis Italiae*, 9 vols. (Venice, 1771–1782), VII, col. 793; G. Guerrieri, *I cavalieri Templari nel regno di Sicilia* (Trani, 1909), doc. 2, p. 91.

¹⁵ Houben, "Templari", pp. 265–266. Also in this respect it is significant that the Templar depositions state that the authority of the Master of Italy Bianco da Pigazzano extended only to the central and northern Italian regions. See above, note 13.

The information considered, therefore, does not confirm that the Masters of Italy or of all Italy were responsible for coordinating the government of the houses in the whole peninsula, prior to an institutional change, which took place in the last twenty years of the thirteenth century. In fact, the role of the Masters of Italy and all Italy was identical to that of their successors who, in the surviving sources, are qualified in a different way, referring to the Templar districts of which the central-northern Italian province was constituted.¹⁶

The Masters of Lombardy were subordinated to those of Italy. A 1271 charter appointing Bianco da Pigazzano as lieutenant to Enrico di Treviso in Lombardy is the only surviving document of this kind by a master of Italy. An earlier charter also notes that in 1271, before Bianco's appointment, Oberto di Calamandrana had been Master of Lombardy too. Moreover, Barozio was probably *magister Lombardie* from 1200 to 1204 and therefore during the mastership of Aimerico de Saliis who was *domorum militie Templi in Ytalia humilis preceptor* in 1203, and Guglielmo da Bubbio was *preceptor domorum templi in Lumbardia* in 1254 under the mastership of Dalmazio de Fenolar.¹⁷

The boundaries of the Templar province of Lombardy are difficult to ascertain. In 1190 the provincial master Gaimardo or Gaimando was named as *magister Marchie* (i.e. the March of Verona) *et Lombardie*,¹⁸ and this seems to imply that in the Templar administrative organization the word *Lombardia* could also refer to an area smaller than all of North Italy. Further mentions of Templar Masters of the eastern part of North Italy are only found in the following century. In 1247 Fr. Ermanno was *preceptor domus milicie Templi de Campanea*¹⁹ *et aliarum domorum de marchia*

¹⁶ These districts were *Lombardia, Tuscia, Patrimonio Beati Petri in Tuscia, Roma, ducatu Spoletano, Campania, Maritima, Marchia et Sardinia*. For instance, see *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188–189, 201. In all likelihood, the qualifications of the Templar officers directly in control of the Lombard houses changed as well. Given that the Masters of North and Central Italy were also named as Masters of Lombardy, the officers directly in control of this area were probably simply defined as their representatives. Unfortunately, after 1271 the few surviving mentions of delegates are either very generic or refer to merely local disputes. Therefore, it is not possible to make any comparison between these representatives and the dignitaries who had previously been Masters of Lombardy. See below, paragraph 3.

¹⁷ See next paragraph below and Appendix 2.

¹⁸ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 4, p. 81.

¹⁹ This house was in Tempio di Ormelle, a place close to Treviso. See below, note 222.

Tarvisina,²⁰ and Gabriele Gambulara (de Gambalara, or de Gamberlaria), mentioned simply as brother between 1244 and 1268, was preceptor of the Templar houses in the March of Treviso in 1271.²¹ In the thirteenth century several preceptors who came from North-east Italy and the aforementioned Gabriele took part in provincial chapters held in Lombardy and presided over by the Masters of Italy²² whereas no document attests to any action or presence of the Masters of Lombardy in North-east Italy.

Unfortunately, the lack of evidence prevents a closer investigation of the Templar organization in northern Italy in the twelfth century. The mention of the March of Verona in Gaimardo's qualification is in all likelihood connected to the fact that this March had its own political identity at that time and the charter mentioning the Templar Master was issued precisely in this area. It seems less likely that the mention in 1190 of a *magister Marchie et Lombardie* and the meeting of a provincial chapter in Asti in 1203 are indicators that the Temple mirrored the Hospital, which divided North Italy into two administrative districts: *Lombardia*, where Asti was the most important house, and *Venetia*.²³ In 1227 several preceptors who came from North-east Italy took part in the provincial chapter held in Cabriolo and the charter issued on this occasion specifies that they represented the Templars of the whole of Lombardy.²⁴ In fourteenth century Templar sources the name *Lombardia* clearly means North-east Italy as well. In 1303 the preceptor of the Templar house of Padua was subordinate to Giacomo da Montecucco, *preceptor Lombardie et Tuscie*.²⁵ In the trial depositions there is no reference

²⁰ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 5, pp. 82–84. This March was created by Frederick II. Andenna, *Storia*, p. 12.

²¹ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 5, pp. 82–84; Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

²² It was only in 1227 in Cabriolo that the provincial chapter was chaired by Guglielmo da Melzo, who was *maior magister mansionum Templi totius Ytalie* and *domorum militie templi in Lombardia preceptor et minister* simultaneously. Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", pp. 105–106.

²³ Andenna, *Storia*, p. 5 ff.; *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, pp. 83–85; L. Tacchella, *Le origini del Gran Priorato di Lombardia e Venezia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta* (Venice, 1992); Luttrell, "The Hospitaller Priory", pp. 101–143; Bordone, "I cavalieri", pp. 339–375; R. Bordone, "Priori del Granpriorato di Lombardia", in Ricardi di Netro, Gentile, eds., *«Gentilhuomini Christiani»*, p. 163; R. Bordone, "Il Piemonte e l'Ordine di Malta: il Granpriorato di Lombardia", *ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁴ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", pp. 105–106.

²⁵ N. Pezzella, "Santa Maria de Cunio: chiesa templare di Padova", in *Atti del XV Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1998), pp. 51–52.

to North-east Italy as an independent administrative district and North Italy is always named as Lombardy. Moreover, in this period provincial chapters were usually held in Emilia and this area was actually chosen thanks to its location in the middle of the province of Lombardy.²⁶

In some cases the same officer is referred to as being in charge of the province of Lombardy and that of Italy. In 1227 Guglielmo da Melzo is referred to as both *magister mansionum Templi totius Ytalie* and *domorum Militie Templi in Lombardia preceptor et minister* in the same document.²⁷ Bianco da Pigazzano, formerly *rector et minister pro Templo* in Lombardy,²⁸ took on the role of *domorum militie templi in Ytalia Generalis preceptor*, whilst remaining in charge of the Lombard ones.²⁹ These Masters were thus ultimately responsible for the Italian houses as well as directly in charge of the government of the Lombard houses. It is also worth noting that in 1281 the Master of Italy, Bianco da Pigazzano, was the preceptor of a number of houses in the Po Valley that were among the most important Lombard *mansiones*.³⁰

Between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of fourteenth some Masters of North and Central Italy, such as Guglielmo di Canelli, Ugucione di Vercelli and Giacomo da Montecucco, are simply denoted as Masters of Lombardy in some sources. This is primarily due to the fact that most of these documents were issued in Lombardy or concerned Lombard Templars.³¹

²⁶ On the coast the eastern border of this district was probably Monaco where, in the mid-thirteenth century, the Genoese Templars were in charge of collecting alms. Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 11–13.

²⁷ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, pp. 105–106.

²⁸ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 99–101.

²⁹ C. Dondi, “Manoscritti liturgici dei templari e degli ospitalieri: le nuove prospettive aperte dal sacramentario templare di Modena (Biblioteca capitolare O.II.13)”, in Cerrini, ed., *I Templari, la guerra e la santità*, pp. 96–97.

³⁰ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318). In 1222 Giovanni Lombardo is named as *domorum Militie Templi in Ytalia preceptor sive secundum vocabula Lombardorum magister* in a charter regarding some houses in Piedmont. Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 151. Since the word *vocabula* means ‘named places’ and refers to the Templar houses mentioned here, the title, recorded only in this document, emphasizes that Lombardy was under Giovanni’s jurisdiction. Cf. J.F. Niermayer, *Mediæ Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976), p. 1115.

³¹ This qualification can also be connected to the wider extension of Lombardy in comparison to the other Italian districts under the control of these Masters. This title is also used in documents written in France and it is worth remembering that Northern and Central Italians were often called Lombards by strangers. Nevertheless, the presence of Ugucione di Vercelli and Giacomo da Montecucco in Central Italy

The province of Italy was also under the control of the Master *deça mer*, a Templar dignitary who was in charge of controlling the western provinces of the Order.³² Pons de Rigaud was *magister in cismarinis partibus* in 1196, and then *in Italia, Provincia et Ispania magister*.³³ In 1245 Raimbaut of Caromb, *pauperis milicie Templi citra mare vicem magistri gerens*, appointed Giacomo de Boscho, master of Italy, as his representative in the dispute of Gorra and, in the October of the same year, was also going to choose a new preceptor for the houses of Italy.³⁴ The Masters *deça mer* were later replaced by Visitors, whose activity in North-west Italy is not documented.³⁵

The terminology used for the Temple's Italian provinces is quite fluid. In most cases the different regions are referred to directly, without any further specification. In the thirteenth century the term *bavilia* or *balia*³⁶ began to appear. In the primary sources concerning North-west Italy this word refers only to the whole province of Lombardy. However, it could also mean smaller groups of commanderies and, for instance, in 1243 the *balia de Luca* is mentioned.³⁷ One deposition contains the term *preceptoria*, which refers to the regions of *Roma, Marittima, Campania, Patrimonium Beati Petri in Tuscia, Lombardia, Marchia Anconetana et ducatus Spoletanus*, all grouped together.³⁸ Finally, the term *provincia* is also

is confirmed by several sources and we also know that Ugucione di Vercelli died precisely in this area. See next paragraph below and *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 189.

³² For these dignitaries see É.-G. Léonard, *Introduction au Cartulaire manuscrit du Temple (1150–1317) constitué par le marquis d'Albon* (Paris, 1930), pp. 15–16; Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 328–329.

³³ *Recueil des actes des comtes de Provence appartenant à la maison de Barcelone. Alphonse II et Raimond Bérenguer V (1196–1245)*, ed. F. Benoit, 2 vols. (Monaco, 1925), I, doc. 125, p. 143. Thanks to Damien Carraz for pointing this out to me. For this dignitary see Léonard, *Introduction*, pp. 16, 24, 26, 45; Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 98, 103, 110, 111, 248, 318–320, 424, 426.

³⁴ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86. For Raimbaut of Caromb see Léonard, *Introduction*, pp. 16, 27; Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 320–322.

³⁵ For the Visitors see Léonard, *Introduction*, pp. 17–19; Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 328–331.

³⁶ Cf. Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 49, 52; Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 463, 464, 465, 470, 472, 484; Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 7, p. 267.

³⁷ Neither the houses on the hills of Turin controlled by Rolando Bergognino in 1203–1204 nor the group of *mansiones* run by Bianco da Pigazzano in 1281 are referred to as *bavilie* in the sources. Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 496.

³⁸ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 131.

attested to, in the testimonies of the Templars Guglielmo de Garent and Giacomo da Pigazzano.³⁹

2. *The Masters of Italy and Lombardy:
chronology and prosopographical notes*

What is possibly one of the first attestations to an Italian provincial master is dated 1149. In a document of the Milanese Templar house it is stated that the transaction brought to completion with this deed should have been subject to the approval of an *alium maiore magistrum Templi cum suis fratris*.⁴⁰ Given the generic nature of the expression, though, the definite identity of the master and the brethren in question cannot be known.

A code in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek containing the Templar Rule also lists a number of disciplinary provisions, presumably issued in northern Italy, stating that: *Hanc institutionem omnes fratres indesinenter teneant, ita ut nihil inde pretermittant, nisi licentia maioris magistri, qui in his Italie partibus moratur*.⁴¹ Unfortunately, this attestation cannot be dated precisely. The only information that we have is the dating of the manuscript. Gustav Schnürer believed that it was drafted at the beginning of the fourteenth century but, more recently, Simonetta Cerrini has dated it convincingly to the third quarter of the twelfth century.⁴²

Another possible mention of a provincial master is dated 1160, when the *magister fratrum Templi Hierosolymitani in Monte Aventino cum suis fratribus* declared his support for the antipope Victor IV.⁴³ For several periods the Roman house in Aventino was the privileged residence of the Master of Italy, but we do not know if the dignitary in question was in charge of just the Roman *domus* or a bigger district.⁴⁴

³⁹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 497.

⁴⁰ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 2, p. 215.

⁴¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2649, fol. 32^v.

⁴² G. Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Tempplerregel, kritisch untersucht und herausgegeben* (Freiburg i. B., 1908), p. 6; Cerrini, “La tradition manuscrite”, pp. 209–210.

⁴³ Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta*, p. 674.

⁴⁴ Cf. Bramato, “La «guerra» e la «santità»”, pp. 72–75; A. Ilari, “Il Gran Priorato giovanito-gerosolimitano di Roma. I monasteri di San Basilio e di Santa Maria all’Aventino «de Urbe». Analisi delle fonti”, *Studi Melitensi*, 3 (1995), pp. 113–156; Ciammaruconi, “L’ordine templare”, p. 55; P.F. Pistilli, “Due tipologie insediative templari: la *domus* romana sull’Aventino e il *locus* fortificato di San Felice Circeo”, in Ciammaruconi, ed., *L’ordine templare*, pp. 157–174.

In 1164, in the confirmation of a legacy left to the Temple by the counts of Biandrate, it is stated that the original donation *fuit tradita in mano Domini magistri Bonifacii a parte iste mansionis*.⁴⁵ One hypothesis is that this master could be identified as Bonifacio, *preceptor Lombardie*, attested to in 1167. It was normal practice in the Order that the provincial master had to give his consent for transactions that were over a certain size and the Biandrate donation could have been important enough to involve a provincial officer.⁴⁶ At the same time, the document in question names Bonifacio as representative of the Sant'Apollinare house only, to which the donation is confirmed, and his identity as provincial master is in no way proven.

In the spring of 1167 Bonifacio, the first preceptor of Lombardy actually noted in the sources,⁴⁷ was in Jerusalem. He had previously been appointed by Bertrand of Blanchefort, the grand master of the Order, to complete the sale of some Templar properties to Otto of Wittelsbach.⁴⁸ On his return from the Holy Land Bonifacio was attested to as Master of Italy: in December 1167 Robaldo Marabotto and his wife Giusta donated themselves and some of their properties to the Templar house of Albenga, and Bonifacio, *per voluntatem Dei et fratrum nostrorum de rebus Templi in Italia magister et procurator*, ordered that the church of San Calocero and its entire estate be made available to Marabotto.⁴⁹ Two years later, Alexander III confirmed *Bonifatio magistro et fratribus militie templi in Lombardia* the hospital and the estate of the church of Santo Stefano in Reggio Emilia.⁵⁰ In all likelihood Bonifacio was simultaneously Master of Lombardy and Italy at that time but, unfortunately, in the primary sources there is no further mention of this dignitary and, therefore, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

We do not know when the mastership of Bonifacio ended, but in 1179 one of his successors, Robaldo di Moncalvo, was attested to as *magister omnium mansionum Templi Ierosolimitani in Italia*. He authorised Alberico di Lodi, procurator of the church of San Giacomo of Albareto, to grant

⁴⁵ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentiliū suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fols. 32^v.–33^v.

⁴⁶ For the dating of this document see below, Chapter IV, pp. 130–131.

⁴⁷ He has been identified, although without any evidence, as the Milanese master attested to in 1149. Bramato, *Storia*, I, p. 56, note 98, p. 57, note 109.

⁴⁸ Grauert, "Eine Tempelherrenurkunde", pp. 294–295; RRH, no. 446, p. 116. See also above, Chapter I, p. 34.

⁴⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49.

⁵⁰ Tiraboschi, *Memorie*, III, doc. 446, p. 54; JL, no. 11659; IP, V, no. 1, p. 377.

all the rights on a piece of land in Vercelli to the local church of San Bartolomeo.⁵¹ Roboaldo, who, in all likelihood, belonged to the family bearing the title of the Viscounts of Moncalvo,⁵² was the first provincial preceptor known to have come from Piedmont.

We know virtually nothing of the subsequent Masters of Italy: Alberico, who was attested to as *magister Hierosolimitani Templi in Italia* in 1190,⁵³ and Gaimardo or Gaimario who, in 1190, was described as *magister Marchie* (i.e. the March of Verona) *et Lombardie*, and the next year as *omnium mansionum Templi in Italia preceptor*.⁵⁴ Through his representatives, Alberico gave his consent to the land exchange between the house of Chieri and the canons of Santa Maria in the same town. Gaimardo or Gaimario authorised a sale in Treviso and the transfer of the Templar estate of the house of Albenga. An important fact here is that, as well as the granting of the permission of the provincial master, reference is also made to the *omnis Italie templariorum conventus*.

A new provincial master, involved in a dispute with the bishop of Tortona over the house of *Calventia*, was attested to in 1200.⁵⁵ In the document recounting this dispute the name of the Master of Lombardy is abbreviated to a B. The assumption that this was very likely to be Barozio is based on a subsequent document that mentions this dignitary as the assignee in the investiture of a hospital in Pavia, granted to the Templars in 1201⁵⁶ and confirmed in 1205.⁵⁷ In the meantime Barozio had taken part in the Fourth Crusade, where he played the highly important role of mediator in the exchanges between Baldwin of Flanders, first Emperor of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, and Innocent III. In a letter from the pope's register, dated October 1204, it is described how Barozio, *in Lombardia domorum Templi magistrum*, at

⁵¹ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, I, doc. 15, p. 232.

⁵² For this family see below, Chapter IV, p. 136.

⁵³ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, pp. XXII–XXIII; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 3, p. 153; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 415–416. This dignitary is identified by Bramato as Alberico da Lodi, procurator of San Giacomo d'Albareto in 1179, although there is no attestation to support this hypothesis. Bramato, *Storia*, II, p. 260.

⁵⁴ G. Cagnin, *Templari e Giovanniti in territorio trevigiano. Secoli XII–XIV* (Treviso, 1992), doc. 4, p. 81; Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 79, 81.

⁵⁵ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, l. II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

⁵⁶ Robolini, *Notizie*, IV, p. 68. Here it is incorrectly stated that Barozio was “gran maestro dei Templari”.

⁵⁷ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II, p. 449. The documents regarding the investiture of Sant'Eustachio hospital are no longer traceable in the Archivio Vescovile of Pavia.

the Emperor's request, was carrying some precious gifts from Greece to the pope⁵⁸ and a number of relics collected *ad opus Templi*⁵⁹ when his ship was attacked by Genoese pirates.⁶⁰ The pope then wrote to the *podestà* and the commune of Genoa requesting the return of the booty. Barozio's mission is described more clearly in another missive of 1204, again from the pope's register. In this letter Innocent was replying to a message from Baldwin of Flanders, delivered to him by Barozio. The missive that the Templar Master, named *dilectum filium* by Innocent in both letters,⁶¹ had taken to Rome contained the justification for founding the new Latin Empire. Barozio had thus been given the delicate task of informing the pope of this event. Unfortunately, none of the documents about this expedition makes any further reference to the actions of the Lombard dignitary in the Crusade or the Constantinople court. There is no source from before the expedition that provides evidence of contacts between Barozio and Boniface I of Montferrat, one of the leaders of the Crusade. However, charters issued after the death of the Marquis hint at positive relations between him and the Temple in Romania.⁶² In the past it has also been claimed that Barozio belonged to the Venetian noble family of Barozzi di San Moisè.⁶³ However, this interesting hypothesis, which would imply an important link between Barozio and the Venetian crusaders as well, is not borne out by any documentary evidence.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ «Videlicet carbunculum unum emptum (...) mille marcarum argenti, unum anulum pretiosum, examita quinque palliumque peroptimum ad altaris ornatum». *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 147, p. 235.

⁵⁹ «Duas yconas, unam habentem tres marcas aurei et aliam decem marcas argenti, cum ligno vivifice crucis et multis lapidibus pretiosis, duas crucis aureas et inter topazios, smaragdos et rubinos pene ducentos, unam cristallinam ampullam et duos scifos argenteos, unam sacellam desuper deauratam, duas capselas et unam ampullam argenteas et insuper quinquaginta marcas argenti». *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 147, p. 235. See above, Chapter I, pp. 37–38.

⁶⁰ See also *Exuviae*, I, pp. CLV–CLVI.

⁶¹ *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 147, p. 235, doc. 152, p. 262.

⁶² H. Nicholson, "The Motivations of The Hospitallers and Templars in their Involvement in the Fourth Crusade and its Aftermath", Malta Study Center Lecture 2003, available at <http://www.hmml.org/centers/malta/publications/lecture3.html> (text corresponding to the notes 16–30).

⁶³ For this family see A. Castagnetti, "Il primo comune", in *Storia di Venezia*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1991–2002), II, *L'Età del Comune*, pp. 114, 116–120; G. Ravegnani, "La romània veneziana", *ibid.*, pp. 197–200; S. Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966), pp. 35–37, 57, 78–82, 110, 137.

⁶⁴ K. Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten* (Amsterdam, 1964), p. 20; *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 147, p. 235, note 3. Barozio does not appear in the contemporary

The Lombard mastership of Barozio coincided with that of Aimerico, *domorum militie Templi in Ytalia humilis preceptor*. In 1203 he gave Rolando Bergognino the task of supervising the sale of the Templar estates of San Martino in Gorra.⁶⁵ One hypothesis is that this *magister* belonged to the Marquises of Saluzzo, but in the deed in question his cognomen is abbreviated to ‘de Sal’ and its most logical expansion is ‘de Saliis’, as suggested in the edition of the charter produced by Ferdinando Gabotto.⁶⁶ What does seem to be significant, though, is the fact that the sale was ratified by Aimerico and not Barozio. It could be that this transaction was important enough to require authorisation at this level. Moreover, it is highly likely that the Lombard Master was away on the Crusade in 1203.

Not long after this Barozio succeeded Aimerico. In the deed of confirmation of the investiture of the hospital of Sant’Eustachio in Pavia in 1205 he is named as Templar Master of Italy.⁶⁷ It could thus have been possible that he was raised to this high office shortly after his return from the East and his stay in the papal court.

For the next twenty years or so there are no further references in the sources to Templar provincial dignitaries active in North-west Italy. It is not until 1222 that there is a mention of Giovanni Lombardo (perhaps identifiable as Giovanni, *magister Templariorum Rome, Tuscie et Sardinie* in 1218),⁶⁸ described as *domorum Militie Templi in Ytalia preceptor sive secundum vocabula Lombardorum magister*. It was he who gave Giacomo de Mellacio,

Venetian sources, nor in any of the family’s genealogical trees. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Girolamo Alessandro Cappellari Vivaro Vicentino, *Il Campidoglio Veneto*, 4 vols., mss. Marc. Ital. cl. VII, codd. 15–18 (collocazione 8304–8307); Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marco Barbaro, *Genealogie delle famiglie patrizie venete*, 4 vols., mss. Marc. Ital. cl. VII, codd. 924–928 (collocazione 8594–8597). Thanks to Giulietta Voltolina who consulted these records for me. For the Templar presence in Greece after 1204 and its connection to the Lombard contingent see P. Lock, “The Military Orders in Mainland Greece”, in Barber, ed., *The Military Orders I*, pp. 333–339; P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204–1500* (London, 1995), pp. 234–236; A. Luttrell, “The Hospitallers in twelfth-century Constantinople”, in *The Experience of Crusading*, 2 vols., M. Bull, N. Housley, eds., I, *Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 230. For Barozio see also my forthcoming article “Tra Occidente ed Oriente: Barozio, dignitario templare e crociato (c.1200–1204)”. It is worth noting that Peter of Lucedio also joined the Crusade. Moore, “Peter of Lucedio”, pp. 228–230, 243–245.

⁶⁵ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, p. 85.

⁶⁶ Ponziglione and Ricaldone read *de Saluciis*. Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 4, pp. 153–156; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 416–418.

⁶⁷ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II, p. 449.

⁶⁸ Bini, “Dei Templieri in Lucca”, doc. 5, pp. 254–257.

preceptor of the house of Vercelli, the task of protecting the Templar houses in Vercelli, Novara, Ivrea and Ruspaglia, perhaps damaged by the frequent wars between these communes.⁶⁹

A few years later Guglielmo da Melzo was *maior magister mansionum Templi totius Italie*. In the meantime he was also referred to as *domorum militie templi in Lombardia preceptor et minister*. In the course of his duties Guglielmo presided over the provincial chapter held in Cabriolo in 1227, during which the renting out of some of property of the Milanese house to the Humiliati of Brera was ratified.⁷⁰

Guglielmo da Melzo was succeeded by Gerardo, *Militie Templi in Italia magister* in 1231.⁷¹ In 1236 a possible subordinate of his, Alberto Lombardo, is mentioned as being put in charge *domorum militie Templi Rome, Tuscie et Sardinie*. Alberto supervised a transaction between the Templar house of Lucca and the monastery of San Michele de Guamo.⁷²

The first dignitary of probable foreign origin put in charge of the Italian houses was Enrico Teutonico, mentioned between 1239 and 1242. Two deeds dated January and February 1239 name him as *magister domorum militie Templi totius Italie*.⁷³ He still performed this role the following year,⁷⁴ and in 1241 he was in contact with Pope Gregory IX.⁷⁵ In 1242 he was still attested to as *militie Templi in Italia preceptor*.⁷⁶

In 1244 Goffredo Lupi di Soragna is mentioned as presiding over the Order's Piacenza chapter in his role as Master of Italy.⁷⁷ The chronicler Salimbene de Adam referred to him saying: *Hic fuit in ordine Templario-*

⁶⁹ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 151–152. See above, note 30.

⁷⁰ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestratis»”, pp. 105–106.

⁷¹ *Codex Wangianus. Urkundenbuch des Hochstiftes Trient, begonnen unter Friedrich von Wangen, Bischof von Trient, fortgesetzt von seinen Nachfolgern*, ed. R. Kink (Vienna, 1852), doc. 160, pp. 345–346; J. Landurner, “Gab es je Tempelritter und Ansitze derselben in Tirol?”, *Archiv für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Tirols* (1866), pp. 311–322 and, in particular, p. 316.

⁷² Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 6, p. 257.

⁷³ M. Borracelli, “La magione templare di Frosini e l'importanza delle strade che vi convergevano”, in Minucci, Sardi, eds., *I Templari: mito e storia*, p. 314, notes 13–14.

⁷⁴ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, 7 vols. (Paris, 1853–1861), V, p. 728.

⁷⁵ *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 5 vols., BEF, II ser. (Paris, 1896–1955), III, doc. 6050, col. 519.

⁷⁶ Borracelli, “La magione”, p. 314, note 14. Bramato mistakenly identifies this preceptor as his successor, Enrico da Treviso. Bramato, *Storia*, II, p. 265.

⁷⁷ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

*rum magnus et potens et multum reputatus eo quod marchio erat.*⁷⁸ Goffredo was descended from a noble family that took its name from its possessions in Soragna, close to San Donnino.⁷⁹

An inscription on the parapet of a well in the Roman Templar church of Santa Maria in Aventino mentions a provincial preceptor of Genoese origin named Pietro under the year 1244. He is referred to here as MAGI(S)T(ER) DOMORV(M) MILITIE TE(M)PLI ROME. It has been suggested recently that this person can be identified as Pietro Fernandi the Master of Italy, attested to in 1259–1260. There is no evidence of this, however, in the records.⁸⁰ Genoa was the city of origin not only of the *magister* Pietro, but also of the pope at that time, Sinibaldo Fieschi (Innocent IV), who had also installed one of his relatives as bishop of Antioch.⁸¹ In the same period (18th of August 1245) we also find Giacomo de Boscho, a member of a noble family with very close links to Liguria, listed amongst the Templar provincial masters.⁸² Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether these two dignitaries obtained their positions partly because of their links with Liguria. The fact that Giacomo de Boscho, *magister et preceptor totius Italie ac procurator constitutus et ordinatus a domino fratre Hermanno Petrogoricense (...) pauperis milicie Templi magistro generali* and *procurator constitutus a fratre Renbaudo de Caron pauperis milicie Templi citra mare vicem magistri gerente*,⁸³ represented the Order in the dispute between Chieri and the Temple⁸⁴ is yet further evidence of the relations between Italian dignitaries and the highest ranks of the Order. The term as a master of this officer was, however, very short, given that Raimbaut of Caromb was going to name a new preceptor for the houses in the province of Italy in October of the same year.⁸⁵

In 1247 Giacomo de Balma was procurator of the Temple in Lombardy and, as such, gave his consent to the renting of the Montemag-

⁷⁸ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. G. Scalia, 2 vols., CC.CM 125–125a (Turnhout, 1998–1999), II, a. 1250–1287, p. 512.

⁷⁹ R. Greci, “Prime presenze gerosolimitane nell’Emilia occidentale e nella bassa Lombardia”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, p. 414; R. Greci, “Salimbene e la politica parmense del Duecento”, in *Salimbeniana* (Bologna, 1991), pp. 117–132.

⁸⁰ Pistilli, “Due tipologie insediative”, p. 171, fig. 14, p. 192; Riccioni, “Di un’iscrizione templare”, pp. 275–293. The transcription of the epigraph in R.U. Montini, D. Gallavotti Cavallero, *S. Maria del Priorato* (2nd edition, Rome, 1984), p. 15, is mistaken.

⁸¹ See above, Chapter I, p. 52.

⁸² See below, Chapter IV, p. 136.

⁸³ For Armand of Périgord see Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 189–210.

⁸⁴ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87.

⁸⁵ Bramato, *Storia*, II, *Le Inquisizioni. Le Fonti*, no. 208, p. 123.

giore estate to the commune of Savigliano.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing which office this brother actually held. It could be possible, though, that he did not act on the request of the provincial master, but that he was put directly in charge of the Lombardy houses. We have already seen that some of the Masters of Lombardy, such as Bonifacio and Giacomo de Boscho, were described as procurators of the Order and so in this case it seems significant that Giacomo is not defined as a representative of either the Master of Lombardy or Italy.

Unfortunately, the name of the Master of Lombardy remains unknown who, just a few years later (1251), tried to sell the Order's house in Murello to Asti, for which he was reprimanded by the Innocent IV.⁸⁷

After this the Italian province was assigned to a foreign preceptor, the Catalanian Dalmazio de Funuccaria, or de Fenolar,⁸⁸ described as *sacrarum domorum Templi Ierosolimitani in Italia Magister* in 1254 and *magister et preceptor domorum et mansionum Militie Templi per totam Italiam* in 1256.⁸⁹

Pietro Fernandi, *magister domus Militie Templi in Italia* and *preceptor domorum militie Templi in Italia*, however, was attested to in 1259–1260.⁹⁰ His action, which was also approved by the Order's authorities in Jerusalem, is not documented in North-west Italy, unfortunately. Pietro was probably related to the previously mentioned *cubicularius* Giovanni Fernandi.⁹¹

In 1254 Guglielmo da Bubbio, *preceptor domorum templi in lumbardia*, appointed Vivaldo de Vecia as his procurator, who, in turn, gave Guglielmo Ridolfino de Palma the task of collecting the Templar alms and annuities in the diocese of Tortona and Valle Scrivia.⁹² Guglielmo is then referred to as *magnum preceptorem balive Lombardie et Tuscie* in

⁸⁶ Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, pp. 263–264; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 89.

⁸⁷ *Chartarum*, doc. 951, cols. 1406–1407. See above, Chapter I, pp. 41–42, and below, Part II, pp. 334–335.

⁸⁸ There was also a certain Bertrand de Fenolar, *procurator* for Catalonia, in the ranks of the Temple. H. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols. (Münster, 1907), II, pp. 6, 7, 77, 87, 182–188, 237.

⁸⁹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 3, p. 441; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, VII, col. 793; Guerrieri, *I cavalieri Templari*, doc. 2, p. 91.

⁹⁰ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 4, pp. 443–452; Bini, “Dei Tempieri in Lucca”, doc. 9, pp. 273–275; *Regesta Chartarum. Regesto delle pergamene dell'Archivio Caetani*, ed. G. Caetani, 6 vols. (Perugia-Sancasciano Val di Pesa, 1922–1932), I, doc. 1931 pp. 36–38; Ciammaruconi, “L'ordine templare”, pp. 81–82.

⁹¹ *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, I, doc. 1508, cols. 547–548.

⁹² *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, ed. G. Gorrini, BSSS 48 (Pinerolo, 1908), doc. 169, p. 109.

around 1261–1262.⁹³ In all likelihood, this official was a descendant of the Piedmontese family of the counts of Bubbio, and came from the same area as other families linked to the Temple, such as the Canellis.⁹⁴

Nothing is known of the lineage of Ermanno di Osimo, *magister et preceptor ecclesie (sic) militie Templi in Italia*, who assigned some of the lands of the Templar *mansio* in Brescia to Giacomo di Onzato in 1266.⁹⁵ Three years earlier, the preceptor of the house of Brescia, also called Ermanno, had similarly rented several pieces of land to Giacomo di Onzato. There is no evidence that the provincial master and the master of Brescia were the same person⁹⁶ and, it is more likely that he could be identified as Ermanno, *preceptor domus milicie Templi de Campanea et aliarum domorum de marchia Tarvisina* in 1247.⁹⁷

Another dignitary from the north of the peninsula was Enrico da Treviso, referred to as *magister domorum et mansionum Militie Templi in Italia* in 1268 and *domorum militie templi Magister in Ytalia generalis* in 1271.⁹⁸ He presided over the Order's provincial chapters in Piacenza, where the dispute with the commune of Modena over the hospital of Sant'Ambrogio was discussed.

Already in 1271 a new *domorum Militie Templi in Lombardia preceptor* was attested to, named Oberto di Calamandrana. Unfortunately, we only have a brief mention of him.⁹⁹

Much more detailed information is available on the provincial master Bianco da Pigazzano, who came from the Piacenza area. In 1244 he took part in the provincial chapter held in Piacenza in the role of preceptor of the house of Asti.¹⁰⁰ In 1256 he may have been witness to the drafting of a deed endorsed by Dalmazio de Fenolar and in 1266 he was referred to as preceptor of the Piacenza and Milan houses and procurator and lieutenant of Lombardy.¹⁰¹ The following year, in the role of *preceptor mansionis Placentie et rector et minister pro Templo in Lombardia*,

⁹³ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

⁹⁴ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 53.

⁹⁵ P. Guerrini, "La «mansio templi» di Brescia", *Rivista Araldica*, 34 (1935), doc. 4, p. 317.

⁹⁶ Guerrini, "La «mansio templi»", doc. 3, p. 317.

⁹⁷ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 5, pp. 82–84.

⁹⁸ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁹⁹ *I registri della cancelleria*, VII, no. 218, p. 250.

¹⁰⁰ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

¹⁰¹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 3, p. 441; Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 224.

he sent the preceptor of the house of Osiglia to collect the rent due from the bishop of Albenga.¹⁰² In 1268 Bianco was appointed *sindicum, actorem, et procuratorem* by the Order's provincial chapter and later nominated Guglielmo di Alessandria, preceptor of the house of Modena, as his delegate in the dispute with the local commune over the hospital of Sant'Ambrogio.¹⁰³ Shortly afterwards an agreement was reached between the Templars and the commune,¹⁰⁴ ratified by the provincial chapter in 1271, in which Bianco was named as preceptor of the houses of the Temple of Piacenza, Milan and as *tenens locum magistri in tota bavilia Lumbardie*. Given the lack of evidence of Oberto di Calamandrana's career, it is not possible to make any hypothesis about his mandate and his substitution by Bianco on this occasion.¹⁰⁵

In 1276 and 1278 the preceptor of the convent of Bergamo, involved in a dispute, stated that he was the representative *domini fratris Blanci de Pigaçano, domorum milicie Templi in Ytalia generalis preceptoris*.¹⁰⁶ In March 1281 Bianco was referred to as directly responsible for the Templar houses of Milan, Pavia, *Verzarius*, Piacenza, Fiorenzuola, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo and Montesordo.¹⁰⁷ Later on he was attested to as *domorum militie templi in Ytalia Generallis preceptor* and as still being responsible for the houses of Lombardy.¹⁰⁸

Several of the Templars questioned in the trial stated that they had been admitted into the Order by Bianco da Pigazzano in a heretical manner. In around 1281, in Piacenza, he presided over the admission into the Order of Bernardo da Parma¹⁰⁹ and a brother whose name Egidio, preceptor of San Gimignano, could not remember.¹¹⁰ Heterodox practices allegedly took place on these occasions. According to Egidio, Bianco even spat on the crucifix at a subsequent chapter meeting.¹¹¹ Around 1284 he admitted Gerardo¹¹² and Pietro da Piacenza into

¹⁰² Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 99–101.

¹⁰³ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 34.

¹⁰⁴ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 35–37.

¹⁰⁵ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 50–52.

¹⁰⁶ Bellomo, "Una mansione", docs. 5–6, pp. 201–204.

¹⁰⁷ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

¹⁰⁸ Dondi, "Manoscritti liturgici", pp. 96–97.

¹⁰⁹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 470.

¹¹⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 461.

¹¹¹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 462.

¹¹² *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 188.

the Order.¹¹³ They claimed that after the admission they were both compelled to repudiate Christ.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, Bianco is said to have kept a wooden idol in a room in Santa Maria in Piacenza which was worshipped by the Templars.¹¹⁵ And it was also Bianco *de comitatu Placentie* who admitted Pietro Valentini to the Order in the church of Santa Maria de Aventino, yet again apparently encouraging heretical practices during the ceremony.¹¹⁶

Bianco was succeeded by a foreign official, Guglielmo de Noves, also referred to in the records as Guglielmo Provintialis. Guglielmo is named as *magister generalem in Lombardia et Tuscia* in a deed of 1285 which ended a dispute between the Temple and the commune of Chieri.¹¹⁷ In the following year, Guglielmo, referred to in a deposition as *magister domorum Templi in partibus Lumbardie, magnum preceptor Lombardie* or *magnum preceptor*, presided over a chapter of the Order in Bologna during which several reception ceremonies of a heretical character were said to have taken place.¹¹⁸ Similar claims were made by Pietro da Bologna, procurator-general of the Order, who said he was admitted by Guglielmo in 1282 in a blasphemous ceremony.¹¹⁹ The Templars Gerardo da Piacenza and Pietro Valentini also recall this Master, noting that he was in charge of controlling the Templar houses of North and Central Italy and that he then died north of the Alps.¹²⁰ During the trial in Cyprus Pietro Cadelli of Castro Gyra recalled that he had been admitted into the Order in Venice by Guglielmo de Noves. No irregularities were noted on this occasion.¹²¹ It was highly likely that

¹¹³ It has been suggested that this person is identifiable as Pietro di Castell'Arquato. *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 189, note 10.

¹¹⁴ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 190–192.

¹¹⁵ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 193; Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 464. Bianco is also said to have encouraged sodomy. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

¹¹⁶ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 201, 203.

¹¹⁷ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 191–192; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 10, pp. 170–171; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 426–427.

¹¹⁸ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 462, 465, 469. Guido de Cietica stated that *Guillus* (sic) *de Noves* was *maxime sodomita*. *Ibid.*, p. 481. Niccolò da Reggio is wrong when he states that Guglielmo admitted him into the Order in 1300. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

¹¹⁹ *Le procès des Templiers*, ed. J. Michelet, 2 vols., Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1841, repr. 1987), II, pp. 348–349.

¹²⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188, 201.

¹²¹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 209–210; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 141.

Guglielmo was from a noble Avignonese family. In 1197 and 1198 Adelbertus de Noves (acting as judge of the commune in 1198) was present as witness to a number of deeds concerning the local Templar house. In 1205 he was also consul of the commune. Aimericus de Noves, Commander of the Templar house in Puy, was in the Templar house of Avignon in September 1265. He was then placed in charge of Pézenas, in the Hérault (1268–1271). Finally, another member of the family, Ferrerius de Noves, is referred to with the rank of knight.¹²²

The fact that Guglielmo came from north of the Alps confirms the mobility of Templar dignitaries, as already noted in the mastership of Enrico Teutonico and Dalmazio de Fenolar and the travels of Bonifacio and Barozio. It should also be noted that in 1292 a certain Guglielmo de Noves was attested to as being in charge of the Temple's Magyar province. This would suggest that Guglielmo moved to Hungary¹²³ before dying in France, as noted in the trial depositions.

Artusio de Pocapalea, however, who was master of the district that included central and northern Italy around 1290–1291, was from Piedmont. He is mentioned only in the depositions by Gerardo da Piacenza and Pietro Valentini, who both stated that he was buried in the Viterbo church of Santa Maria di Carbonara.¹²⁴ He was very likely to have been a relative of the *cubicularius* Giacomo de Pocapalea.¹²⁵

Artusio's successor, Guglielmo di Canelli, was from a family that had been widely represented in both the Temple and the Hospital, and that had connections with the former provincial dignitaries Guglielmo

¹²² For this family see L.H. Labande, *Avignon au XIIIe siècle. L'évêque Zoën Tencarari et les Avignonnais* (Paris, 1908), pp. 9, 84, 323, 342, 365; Léonard, *Introduction*, p. 53. Unpublished documents on this lineage are kept in Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, série 56 H. Information kindly provided by Damien Carraz.

¹²³ Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatikai Levéltár (Diplomatics Archive), no. 1345, 13th of July 1292 (Guyllemus de Novis or Nonis). In 1290, we find that Giacomo de Monte Regali was preceptor of this province. Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatikai Levéltár (Diplomatics Archive), no. 40197, 1290; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, ed. G. Wenzel, 12 vols. (Pest, 1860–1874), VII, pp. 114–115; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus. 1095–1301*, ed. F. Kubinyi (Pest, 1867), p. 16. These references were pointed out to me by Zsolt Hunyadi. Note that there are several places called *Mons Regalis* and it is anything but certain that this dignitary came from Piedmont. *Orbis latinus. Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, eds. H. Plechl, S.-Ch. Plechl, F. Benedict, J.G.Th. Grässe, 3 vols. (Braunschweig, 1972), II, p. 610.

¹²⁴ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188–189, 201. A Templar named Artusius is also mentioned in the deposition of Pietro da Bologna. *Le procès II*, p. 349.

¹²⁵ See above, Chapter I, pp. 39–40.

da Bubbio and Oberto di Calamandrana. He was first attested to in 1284, and again in 1287, as preceptor of Sicily.¹²⁶ Later Guglielmo was transferred and Constance of Aragon asked William of Beaujeau (1273–1291),¹²⁷ grand master of the Order, if he could be returned to Sicily to his previous post. The Master replied that, according to normal practice in the Order, Guglielmo could not return straight away as a dignitary was not allowed to be transferred from a new post until he had occupied it for at least four years.¹²⁸ The reasons for his transfer are unknown to us, but the fact that he was related to the Staufen dynasty through Bianca Lancia d'Agliano probably affected his career in the Order, which tended to be pro-Angevin.¹²⁹

It was only after the death of William of Beaujeau that Guglielmo di Canelli became provincial master. The Templar depositions given in Central Italy clearly state that he was in charge of controlling the Templar houses in Lombardy as well as those in Central Italy.¹³⁰ In his capacity as Master of Lombardy he admitted sergeant Guglielmo de Garent into the Order in an orthodox manner.¹³¹ In the meantime the sovereigns of Aragon continued to aid his career and, in 1294, wrote him a letter of accreditation.¹³² Guglielmo presided over the provincial chapters held in Bologna in 1291 and 1296, at which heretical practices are said to have occurred.¹³³ Still as preceptor of the province of Lombardy, he is said to have admitted his relative Albertino, future papal ostiary, into the Order through unorthodox practices. Albertino recalled his admission into the Order in his trial deposition, stating that he had joined the Templars about nine years previously, and so the events described would have taken place in the first years of the century.¹³⁴ But in 1300 Ugucione da Vercelli is already referred to as Guglielmo's successor. This is also confirmed in some of the Templars'

¹²⁶ Bramato, *Storia*, II, no. 349, p. 154; Bust-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 279–280; *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae ad MCCLXVIII–MCCCXLIX*, ed. D. Wilkins, 2 vols. (London, 1737), II, p. 372.

¹²⁷ For this dignitary see Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 259–290.

¹²⁸ *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen Kirchen und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327)*, ed. H. Finke, 3 vols. (Berlin–Leipzig, 1908–1922), III, doc. 5, p. 10.

¹²⁹ See above, Chapter I, pp. 40–41.

¹³⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 189, 201.

¹³¹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 174–175; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 90.

¹³² *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 18, p. 32; Barbero, “I signori di Canelli”, pp. 230–231.

¹³³ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 465, 474.

¹³⁴ *Le procès*, II, p. 425.

depositions referring to the jubilee year, a year they are unlikely to have got wrong.¹³⁵ It is therefore probable that either Guglielmo was not provincial master when he received his relative into the Temple or that Albertino's recollections are slightly inaccurate and that his admission took place before the 5th of June 1300, the date of the deed in which Uguccone is mentioned for the first time as *domorum militie templi in lombardia preceptor*.¹³⁶

Afterwards Guglielmo was sent to Hungary and died shortly after his return to Italy.¹³⁷ The reasons leading to his transfer are difficult to ascertain. It may have been due to other problems of a political nature, although it is worth noting that Guglielmo de Noves had also been sent to this province on a previous occasion.¹³⁸

Guglielmo's successor, Uguccone di Vercelli, however, maintained close links with the papal curia. A certain Uguccone di Vercelli, member of the noble Borromei family, appears in papal records from 1291 onwards, occupying various positions in the papal court and as bishop of Novara.¹³⁹ It has been suggested that the Templar Master belonged to the same family,¹⁴⁰ but this is not definitely borne out by the sources.

Before being put in charge of the Templar province of Central-northern Italy, Uguccone had been a *cubicularius*, holding a number of important administrative posts under both Martin IV and Nicholas IV. He was probably already Nicholas III's *cubicularius* in 1278, and still held this post in 1282.¹⁴¹ The following year he was castellan of the *rocca* of

¹³⁵ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 250.

¹³⁶ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304.

¹³⁷ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 189, 201. Bianca Capone and Loredana Imperio believe that Guglielmo died in 1301. B. Capone, L. Imperio, "I Templari della nobile famiglia «de Canellis»", in *Atti del X Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Poggibonsi, 1992), pp. 54–55.

¹³⁸ Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, 13th of July 1292, Diplomatkai Levéltár (Diplomatics Archive), no. 3145.

¹³⁹ P. Bertolini, "Borromeo, Uguccone", DBI 13 (Rome, 1971), pp. 66–71; G. Briacca, "Atti processuali per la tutela dei diritti comitali del vescovo di Novara contro il comune di Domodossola (1318–1321)", in *Raccolta di studi in onore di Sergio Mochi Onory*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1972), II, pp. 320–355; G. Briacca, "Uguccone Borromei canonista", *Novarien*, 5 (1973), pp. 12–28; G. Briacca, "Le «quaestiones disputatae» di Uguccone Borromei", *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, n.s., 7 (1977), pp. 65–84; B. Bombi, "Un documento inedito di Uguccone, vescovo di Novara (1330–1331 ca.)", *Novarien*, 31 (2002), pp. 213–222.

¹⁴⁰ Briacca, "Uguccone Borromei canonista", p. 14, note 9.

¹⁴¹ F. Baethgen, "Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung unter Bonifaz VIII", QFitAB 20 (1928–1929), pp. 196–199, 201, 204.

Ponte della Badia close to Tuscania.¹⁴² In 1288 he was the bearer of the papal letters on the controversial question of the ownership of Castle of Alba in the Abruzzi, which he had to take over, and the next year, together with Giacomo de Pocapalea, he was given the task of receiving the annuity payable by the bailiff of the Kingdom of Sicily.¹⁴³ After Ugucione performed these tasks Nicholas IV granted him the fief of Miranda, close to Narni, in 1290.¹⁴⁴ In 1296 he was assigned the mission of taking possession of the castle of Palazzolo (close to Orte), occupied by some Roman nobles.¹⁴⁵

Ugucione was also mentioned in several trial depositions in which he is described as the preceptor of the Templar houses in North and Central Italy. Fr. Cecco noted that he had been admitted into the Order by him in Rome, where Ugucione had a room in the palace of the Lateran *iuxta santa sanctorum*. No heretical practices were said to have taken place on this occasion. Afterwards Ugucione sent Cecco to the Master of *Apulia* with a missive.¹⁴⁶ Fr. Guglielmo, when questioned in Viterbo, also stated that he had been admitted into the Order by Ugucione di Vercelli, with no illicit practices.¹⁴⁷ Another person who was admitted during Ugucione's mastership was Vivolo, who was received into the Temple at the house of Castellaraldo in the diocese of Viterbo. In this case the person allegedly guilty of heresy was not Ugucione but his vicar, Giorgio.¹⁴⁸ Fr. Gualtiero was admitted by Ugucione together with Vivolo¹⁴⁹ and here too the heterodox practices recounted by the Templar did not take place in the presence of the provincial master. Meanwhile, in 1302 Ugucione was again mentioned as being in the service of Boniface VIII and was given the task of ensuring that a fortress that had been illegally constructed by the inhabitants of Rieti was demolished.¹⁵⁰ Still according to the testimonies of Guglielmo, Gerardo da Piacenza and Vivolo, Ugucione died in Rieti and was buried

¹⁴² A. Luttrell, "Two Templar-Hospitaller preceptories north of Tuscania", *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 39 (1971), p. 105, reprinted in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West* (London, 1978), essay X.

¹⁴³ *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, II, docs. 7144–7147, pp. 966–967, docs. 7653–7654, p. 1047.

¹⁴⁴ Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, p. 62.

¹⁴⁵ Silvestrelli, "Le chiese", p. 494, note 1. See also, Baethgen, "Quellen", p. 123.

¹⁴⁶ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 132.

¹⁴⁷ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 173.

¹⁴⁸ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 215.

¹⁴⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 217, 250–251.

¹⁵⁰ *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, III, doc. 5032, col. 664.

at the church of Santa Maria in Capita in the diocese of Bagnoregio.¹⁵¹ This account differs partly from that of Pietro Valentini and Gualtiero, who recalled that Ugucione died in *Iterapano* or *Interamnia*.¹⁵² In actual fact the dignitary's tomb in Bagnoregio was still noted in a *cabreum* in 1707.¹⁵³

Ugucione di Vercelli's term as master was characterised by significant and continuous relations with the papal court. In this case the job of running the Templar houses in northern and central Italy was added to the various tasks he was assigned by the pope, especially in the papal state. The two positions held by the Master were complementary, and made him an important tool in the politics of the papacy. It seemed, though, according to the surviving records, that Ugucione was taken up so much by these multiple roles that he was rarely in North-west Italy. He only went to Cremona in 1300 and his movements are mainly documented in Central Italy.

Ugucione di Vercelli was succeeded by Giacomo da Montecucco.¹⁵⁴ According to the testimony of Egidio, preceptor of San Gimignano, Giacomo had already presided over a chapter of the Order in 1289.¹⁵⁵ If this was the case, we do not know whether he was acting as a substitute or whether Egidio had got the date wrong. Between 1303 and 1306 Giacomo presided over a number of provincial chapters in which alleged heretical practices took place.¹⁵⁶ The only Templars to say that nothing illicit happened during their admissions to the Order which occurred during this period were those questioned in Cesena, who referred to him as *preceptor in Lombardia* or *magnum preceptor in Lombardia*, and his brother Nicola.¹⁵⁷

At the end of September 1303 the preceptor of the Templar house of Padua took part in the investiture on behalf of Giacomo da Montecucco, *preceptor Lombardie et Tuscie*.¹⁵⁸ In 1304 Giacomo is referred to as *cubicularius* in Perugia, where he was met by the aforementioned Fr.

¹⁵¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 189, 214, 251.

¹⁵² *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 201, 250.

¹⁵³ G. Romalli, "La magione di Bagnoregio: una precettoria templare nella Tuscia romana", in Ciammaruconi ed., *L'ordine templare*, p. 328, note 60.

¹⁵⁴ For the lineage of this dignitary see below, Charter IV, pp. 139–140.

¹⁵⁵ Bini, "Dei Templari e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 464–465. The same witness says that Giacomo usually worshipped an idol in the form of a head. *Ibid.*, p. 466.

¹⁵⁶ Bini, "Dei Templari e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 478, 479, 486.

¹⁵⁷ F. Tommasi, "Interrogatorio dei Templari a Cesena (1310)", in Tommasi, ed., *Aciri 1291*, pp. 288, 293; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 126.

¹⁵⁸ Pezzella, "Santa Maria de Cuniò", pp. 51–52.

Cecco.¹⁵⁹ Albertino di Canelli, the pope's porter, was also there.¹⁶⁰ Still in 1304, Giacomo was attested to as *domini pape cubicularius et domorum militie Templi in Lombardia, Tuscia, terra Rome et Sardinia generalis preceptor, atque aliarum preceptoriarum domorum militie Templi*, and gave his consent to the transfer of part of the Templar settlement and estate in Piacenza to the Dominicans.¹⁶¹ The trial depositions also note that he was present at the admission into the Order of the knight Busone, one of the counts of Petrorio.¹⁶² In 1306 Giacomo, described as *prior Lombardie ordinis Templariorum*, was in France and is mentioned as being a witness to a deed. In the following year he was still in Poitiers.¹⁶³ The time spent north of the Alps by Giacomo, a Lombard official, is explained by the fact that he was part of the papal entourage and this, yet again, was the main factor behind this dignitary's mobility. In the chapter on the trial in North-west Italy we shall look at the life of this dignitary, who was arrested in France, from 1307 onwards.¹⁶⁴

When investigating the regions of origin of the different masters, Piedmont clearly starts to predominate over the other areas as the main recruitment district for provincial dignitaries from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. The highest-ranking officials came from this area, even when Asti started to become a less important centre than Piacenza and Bologna.

In a few cases a direct relationship was attested to between the Masters of Lombardy and Italy and the Order's central authorities: Bonifacio, Giacomo de Boscho and Pietro Fernandi were invested with special prerogatives by the Order's central command on the occasion of significant economic transactions.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 132.

¹⁶⁰ Tommasi, "L'ordine dei Templari a Perugia", doc. 17, p. 60; Silvestrelli, "Le chiese", p. 528.

¹⁶¹ Local historians confused Giacomo da Montecucco with James of Molay. Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 19, note 3; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304.

¹⁶² *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 252.

¹⁶³ Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, Obligationes et solutiones, 2, fol. 114^v (information kindly pointed out by Barbara Bombi); *Regestum Clementis papae V*, 9 vols. + appendix (Vatican City, 1885–1892), V, doc. 7183 (the deed from 1311 is a confirmation of a previous transaction), p. 288.

¹⁶⁴ See below, Chapter V, pp. 204–208.

¹⁶⁵ In all likelihood Barozio's participation in the Fourth Crusade also implied direct contacts with the central bodies of the Order.

According to the Templar Regulations provincial dignitaries were appointed by the Grand Master and the General Chapter.¹⁶⁶ This could be the case for Bonifacio who is noted in the sources as *per voluntatem Dei et fratrum nostrorum de rebus Templi in Italia magister et procurator* only after his stay in Jerusalem. The words *per voluntatem fratrum nostrorum* could imply the ratification of his appointment by the General Chapter.¹⁶⁷ An exception to this procedure is documented in 1254 when Raimbaut of Caromb, *pauperis milicie Templi citra mare vicem magistri gerens*, was going to appoint a new master of Italy. Alan Forey convincingly argues that at the beginning of the fourteenth century the dignitaries who controlled the western Templar provinces could also receive “certain powers normally reserved to the Grand Master and central Convent”¹⁶⁸ and this probably applied to Raimbaut as well.

At the end of the thirteenth century western provincial masters were usually summoned to the General Chapter every four years. Unfortunately, no summonses or evidence of the presence of the Masters of Italy at the General Chapter survive.¹⁶⁹ The lack of information also prevents us from investigating the length of their terms of service. The transfer of several Italian dignitaries from South to North Italy or from Italy to Hungary suggests that some provincial dignitaries held their office for a certain period and were then appointed to other posts.¹⁷⁰

It has been hypothesised that the officials destined to run the Western provinces first undertook tours of duty in the East, where they had the chance to demonstrate their leadership qualities directly to the top ranks of the Order.¹⁷¹ This is also likely to have been the case for Lombardy, as Nicola da Montecucco,¹⁷² the brother of Giacomo, and Antonio,¹⁷³ Uguccione di Vercelli's nephew, both relatives of provincial masters and probably destined for a career in the Order, were attested to in the East.

In contrast to what happened in *Apulia* or Sicily, the dignitaries appointed to run Lombardy and Italy almost always originated from these areas, with the sole exceptions of Dalmazio de Fenolar, Guglielmo

¹⁶⁶ *La règle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886), p. 80, no. 87.

¹⁶⁷ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 48.

¹⁶⁸ Forey, *The Templars*, p. 330.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 327–329.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Forey, *The Templars*, p. 312.

¹⁷¹ Forey, *The Templars*, p. 309 ff.; Tommasi, “Fonti”, pp. 177–184.

¹⁷² He was tried in Cyprus. *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 125–127, 321–328.

¹⁷³ Antonio was admitted in the East. *Le procès*, II, p. 562.

de Noves and, perhaps, Enrico Teutonico. The documents examined imply that the Masters of Lombardy or Italy had an itinerant function,¹⁷⁴ and were required to be present not only at important centres such as Rome, Piacenza and Bologna, but also at smaller houses such as *Verzarius* (Torricella Verzate). During the mastership of Guglielmo de Noves, Cremona too seems to have become quite important. A local notary, who defined himself as *notarius domini Guillelmi de Novis*,¹⁷⁵ notarised some deeds regarding the Temple.¹⁷⁶ Also, the presence of Ugucione di Vercelli in Cremona seems to confirm the fact that this house was of a certain importance.¹⁷⁷

The movements of these provincial masters were dictated by administrative and representative duties and the collection of *responsiones*.¹⁷⁸ Journeys to the East and over the Alps were also attested to. According to the records, however, the main documented duties of provincial masters were presiding over chapters, settling controversies, admitting new members into the Order and giving their authorisation to economic transactions of a certain importance.

The terms used to describe the office of these dignitaries are many and varied. The word *magister* is the one predominantly used, but *preceptor* too appears frequently and often the two terms are used together. The variants *magister et procurator*,¹⁷⁹ *preceptor et minister*,¹⁸⁰ *magister et preceptor (...)* *ac procurator*,¹⁸¹ *rector et minister*¹⁸² and *prior* can all also be found.¹⁸³ The term *magnus preceptor*¹⁸⁴ is used especially in the depositions made by the Templars questioned in the trial. This term is also used in a deed of 1308 that defines the official duties of Giacomo di Montecucco.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁴ In 1252 the marquis Enrico di Ponzone undertook to get the provincial master of the Order to ratify the assignment of the Tortona hospital when he came to Lombardy. *Le carte dell'Archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, pp. 209–210.

¹⁷⁵ *Il «Libro rosso»*, doc. 112, p. 192.

¹⁷⁶ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

¹⁷⁷ See above, pp. 103–105.

¹⁷⁸ Cfr. Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 315–317.

¹⁷⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 48.

¹⁸⁰ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, pp. 105–106.

¹⁸¹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87.

¹⁸² Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 100–101.

¹⁸³ Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Obligaciones et solutiones*, 2, fol. 114^v.

¹⁸⁴ For example, see *The Trial of the Templars in the Papale State and Abruzzi*, pp. 131, 147, 173.

¹⁸⁵ Here Giacomo da Montecucco is referred to as *militie Templi in Lombardia, Tuscia*,

3. *Provincial masters' delegates active in North-west Italy*

In 1190 the brethren Giovanni Martino, Picinardo and Ottone da Mercenasco acted as *missi* of Alberico, *magister Templi in Italia*, conducting an exchange of land with the provost of the church of Santa Maria in Chieri.¹⁸⁶ In September 1222 Giovanni Lombardo, preceptor of Italy, appointed his representative Giacomo de Mellacio as preceptor of the *domus* of San Giacomo d'Albareto in Vercelli.¹⁸⁷ Two years later Giovanni, *sindicus domus milicie Templi*, won a court case against the bishop of Albenga. It is very likely that the provincial authority gave him the task of defending the Temple's interests in this dispute.¹⁸⁸

In 1267 Manfredo, preceptor of the Templar house in Osiglia, came before the bishop of Albenga with a letter in which he was named as *nuncius certus domini fratris Blanci de Placencia in Lombardia tenens locum magistri*. Bianco planned to come to Piedmont *occasione solvendi debita de Pedemonto* and had ordered Manfredo to collect the rent due for the previous years from the bishop of Albenga and to bring it to him in Asti. Manfredo, in his capacity as *nuncius et procurator*, also had the task of delivering a second letter to the bishop, emphasising that he was seen as a trustworthy representative of the provincial dignitary.¹⁸⁹ In 1266 Bianco also appointed another delegate to collect the Temple's dues and handle some disputes. Unfortunately, we have no further information on this and we do not know who the delegate was.¹⁹⁰

In 1270 Bianco da Pigazzano was lieutenant of the Temple in Lombardy and Guglielmo di Alessandria, preceptor of Modena, acted as his delegate.¹⁹¹ The following year Bianco acted as substitute of the Master *in tota bavilia Lumbardie* (1271).¹⁹² From 1276 to 1278 Guglielmo de Caselle, preceptor of Bergamo, represented the Order in a dispute in his capacity as delegate of the Master of Italy, Bianco da Pigazzano.¹⁹³ In 1286 Riccardo de Albaruxia, preceptor of the houses of Murello, Vercelli and

Terra Rome atque Sardene generalis preceptor. Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308.

¹⁸⁶ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, pp. XXII–XXIII.

¹⁸⁷ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 151–152.

¹⁸⁸ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 89–90.

¹⁸⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 100–101.

¹⁹⁰ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 224.

¹⁹¹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 32–37.

¹⁹² Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52.

¹⁹³ Bellomo, "Una mansione", docs. 5–6, pp. 201–204.

Casale Sant'Evasio, was the lieutenant of Guglielmo de Noves, preceptor of Lombardy.¹⁹⁴

In 1303 Francesco, preceptor of the Templar house of Padua, acted as delegate of Giacomo da Montecucco in the transfer of a plot of land.¹⁹⁵ In 1304 the Military Order transferred the complex of Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza to the Dominicans of San Giovanni in Canale and Giacomo Fontana, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, conducted the proceedings in his capacity as *procurator et syndicus* of Giacomo da Montecucco.¹⁹⁶

In the testimony of Lanfranco di Fiorenzuola a certain Isnardo is referred to as lieutenant of the Master of Lombardy around 1260.¹⁹⁷ He could have been active in North-west Italy, even though Lanfranco does not state this explicitly. Subsequently Fr. Remondino too was vicar of Giacomo da Montecucco.¹⁹⁸ Still in the depositions of the tried Templars mention is made of Giorgio, vicar of Ugucione di Vercelli.¹⁹⁹ Of interest here is the testimony of Pietro Valentini, who states that, from time to time, during the masterships of the different dignitaries known to him, he saw *fratrem Guglielmum Cernerium*,²⁰⁰ *magnum preceptorem in Patrimonio beati Petri in Tuscia solum, et fratrem Morum, magnum preceptorem in Rome et terra Rome*.²⁰¹ And so this brother puts the Templars that governed parts of the central-northern province on the same level as higher dignitaries, calling them grand preceptors. The Moro mentioned above

¹⁹⁴ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 7.

¹⁹⁵ Pezzella, "Santa Maria *de Cunio*", pp. 51–52.

¹⁹⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, pp. 34–35; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304.

¹⁹⁷ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

¹⁹⁸ Remondino was active in Piacenza. Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 479. Other vicars who may have been active in North-west Italy were Bartolomeo da Modena and Giacomo di Bologna. Albertino di Canelli probably also filled this role. *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 216–217.

¹⁹⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 202, 206, 207, 209, 215, 217–220.

²⁰⁰ This dignitary has been identified by Francesco Tommasi as a French knight preceptor of San Giustino and San Gerolamo in Perugia in 1283. He also had the role of *receptor*. Tommasi, "L'ordine dei Templari a Perugia", pp. 12, 17; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 203. For the *receptores* mentioned in the French trial records see A. Demurger, "Le personnel des commanderies d'après les interrogatories du procès des Templiers", in Luttrell, Pressouyre, eds., *La Commandarie*, pp. 139–140.

²⁰¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 202.

could be identified as Moro da Pigazzano, formerly preceptor of Pavia and Casei in 1285 and, perhaps, he is also the Moro da Pigazzano arrested in Piacenza and then cleared of all accusations at the end of the inquiry into the Temple.²⁰²

Given the size of the district they had to govern, both the Masters of Lombardy and Italy often relied on the work of local representatives. These could perform two kinds of roles. Some were given a specific function, such as representing the Order in a particular dispute or handling a specific transaction. Others were conferred wider-ranging administrative and representative powers on a continuous basis (in this case, as well as handling the normal administration of quite large areas, they also supervised the collection of alms and *responsiones*,²⁰³ and presided over admissions, especially when they took place out of the provincial chapters).²⁰⁴ This delegation system allowed the provincial masters, who were actually itinerant, to supervise the network of houses under their control and provided an efficient response to local needs.

4. *Local preceptors and provincial chapters*

The terms used to describe the person in charge of an individual house varied: *preceptor* was by far the most widely used term, followed by *comandator*. The fact that these terms were sometimes used to describe the same person underlines the fact that they were basically interchangeable.²⁰⁵ The term *grammagister* was attested to just once, not in reference to a provincial dignitary but to the preceptor of the Order's house—albeit an important one—of Piacenza.²⁰⁶

Local preceptors were usually appointed during provincial chapters. As for North-west Italy this procedure is only mentioned in connection to the promotion of Nicola de Celori in 1244.²⁰⁷ The dearth of information prevents us from knowing how long the term of the office of

²⁰² *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 132, 133, 202, 203, 207. For Moro see also *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, pp. 305–307.

²⁰³ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109; Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 12.

²⁰⁴ For example, see Bini, “Dei Templari e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 480, 491.

²⁰⁵ Bini, “Dei Templari e del loro processo”, doc. 6, pp. 202–204.

²⁰⁶ Dondi, “Manoscritti liturgici”, p. 96.

²⁰⁷ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

local masters lasted,²⁰⁸ and in the surviving primary sources there is no mention of conventual chapters presided over by these officers.²⁰⁹ The main activities of the preceptors in North-west Italy, as attested to in the records, are of an administrative and representative nature. They supervised the economic life of the house, decided on sales and exchanges, rented out properties, accepted donations and acted in defence of their convents in local disputes.

There are several examples of a single preceptor being in charge of a number of different *domus*. In 1203 Rolando Bergognino was *preceptor mansionis Templi Sancti Martini de Gurra et mansionis Taurini et Carij et Testone* and he was still in charge of most of these houses the next year, except for the one in Turin.²¹⁰ In all probability, given that these convents were developing so quickly at that time, it was decided to assign them to a dignitary of proven experience, who, before joining the Temple, had occupied important administrative posts in the communes of Asti, Chieri and Savigliano.²¹¹ It is only afterwards that these houses, each with their own preceptor, are noted as being independent of each other.²¹²

Some preceptors could also act as representatives for houses involved in complicated disputes. This is what the preceptors of Asti and Pavia did when, in 1285, they acted as procurators for the house of San Leonardo in Chieri in a dispute with the local commune.²¹³ It may have been that in this case it was thought better to have the house represented by officials from other houses less involved in the dispute.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 264–266. Templar preceptors are usually mentioned only once in the surviving sources. However, in a few cases we have information on long term appointments: for instance in Brescia Fr. Alberto de la Morotta and Fr. Pagano and in Ivrea Fr. Guglielmo Rubeo ran the local houses for at least ten, seven and twelve years respectively. See below, Appendix III.1, nos. 11, 145, 200. A comparison between the lists of preceptors who took part in the 1268 and 1271 chapters does not provide any useful information about this issue. Eleven houses are mentioned in both lists: seven of them had the same preceptor in 1268 and 1271, four had a new preceptor in 1271. The lack of information unfortunately prevents us from knowing the reasons for these replacements and how long the substituted preceptors had been running their houses. Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 51.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 275–276.

²¹⁰ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 45–46, pp. 80–85. Cf. Forey, *The Templars*, p. 267.

²¹¹ *Codex Astensis, ad indicem; Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 3–5, pp. 5–8; *Le carte dell’archivio arcivescovile di Torino*, doc. 117, pp. 114–123.

²¹² See below, Part II, pp. 247–248.

²¹³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194.

It is important to note how the various masters were moved from one house to another²¹⁴ in a progression that sometimes saw them taking on ever more responsible roles. A typical example of this is Bianco da Pigazzano, who, after running the house in Asti, was called on to supervise a growing number of convents, up to the point of directing the entire province of Lombardy and then of Italy.²¹⁵

These dignitaries generally came from the same region their houses were in²¹⁶ and sometimes seem to have been chosen for their detailed knowledge of local environment, as was the case for Bergognino.²¹⁷

Provincial masters and local preceptors usually met at the provincial chapters. The previously mentioned code, drafted in northern Italy in the third quarter of the twelfth century and now conserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, tells of a provincial chapter held *in villa Mausonii*.²¹⁸ Thanks to the work of Simonetta Cerrini it has been possible to ascertain the place of origin of the regulations kept in this manuscript. In Cerrini's own words: "in Italia, in Italia del Nord in particolare, nacque il testo in questione e lì si originarono delle copie di cui esiste finora un solo esemplare, quello di Monaco".²¹⁹ Cerrini also argues that the provincial chapter itself took place between 1150 and 1175. Unfortunately, it is not possible to be more specific about the date of the assize, nor can we be certain of where it was actually held. The first definitely dateable provincial chapter in Lombardy is the assize mentioned in 1191 which endorsed the sale of the Templar possessions

²¹⁴ Only a single case of the possible temporary replacement of a preceptor has been traced. See below, Part II, pp. 287–288.

²¹⁵ See above, pp. 98–100.

²¹⁶ Exceptions to this are, for example, Bianco da Pigazzano, preceptor in Asti, Giacomo and Umberto da Pigazzano, in charge of the Order's house in Milan from 1291 to 1308, and Alberto da Brescia, preceptor in Lucca. Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 29th of September 1291, *Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato*, cart. 5, 16th of October 1304; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", docs. 4, 6, pp. 217–220; Bini, "Dei Templari e del loro processo", doc. 8, p. 458.

²¹⁷ For Bergognino see below, Chapter IV, pp. 159–165. The same trend has been acknowledged in the Hospital, where it has been noted that the running of some houses was put in the hands of members of the local nobility. Bordone, "I cavalieri", p. 366.

²¹⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2649, fol. 28^v. For western provincial chapters see also J. Riley-Smith, "The Origins of the Commandery in the Temple and the Hospital", in Luttrell, Pressouyre, eds., *La Commandarie*, pp. 14–15 and Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 73, 88, 90, 95, 101, 265–266, 317–323, 336–339, 341, 390, 406–407, 413–415.

²¹⁹ Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi", p. 41. For a Templar manuscript, kept in Emilia and no longer traceable, see *ibid.*, p. 53, note 25.

of Albenga. All that we know of this is that it was probably presided over by the Master of Italy Gaimardo or Gaimario, but we have no information on where it took place.²²⁰

It was during one of the subsequent provincial chapters in 1203 in Asti, presided over by Aimerico de Saliis, that the opportunity of selling the Templar possessions of San Martino in Gorra to the commune of Chieri was discussed.²²¹ Unfortunately, we do not have the list of dignitaries who attended this meeting, whereas we do have the list of preceptors who took part in a later chapter, held in Cabriolo, near Fidenza, in 1227. On this occasion Guglielmo da Melzo confirmed the investiture concluded by Giovanni, preceptor of the Milanese house, of two mills on the river Lambro Grande to Alberto, *minister* of the Humiliati house of Brera. This assize was attended by the preceptors of *domus pontis Testone* (Giovanni di Alessandria), Murello (Ambrogio), *domus Sancti Martini de Stelone* (Giacomo della Pusterla), Chieri (Andrea), *Solerus* (Guglielmo de Turri), Torricella Verzate (Guido da Parma), Piacenza (Riccardo), *domus Templi de Regio* (Erencherio), Bologna (Matteo), *domus Sancti Quirini* (Giovanni Pulcher), *domus Campagne* (Isnardo), *domus de Montebello* (Gerardo) and *domus Templi de Valegio* (Giacomo da Reggio).²²² As can be seen, the preceptors in attendance came from all over northern Italy, from an area stretching from Piedmont to Friuli Venezia-Giulia, including Emilia Romagna. The provenance of the participants shows clearly that provincial assizes, although presided over by the Master of Italy, were generally attended by preceptors from specific geographical areas. Indeed, in this case, the dignitaries attending the meeting had been called on specifically to act for all the Templars of Lombardy.²²³

There is no further news of other provincial chapters of the Order being held for almost twenty years. The next meeting that we know of happened in 1244 in Piacenza. Under the chairmanship of Goffredo Lupi, the appointment of Nicola de Celori as head of the Piacenza house was ratified. In addition to Nicola, mentioned previously, the other people attending the meeting were Isnardo, preceptor of San Martino di Stellone, Bonifacio, marquis of Ponzone, preceptor of

²²⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 79, 81.

²²¹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, pp. 83–85.

²²² On the houses of *Campaneia*, Montebello, San Quirino and Valeggio sul Mincio see Caravita, “Nuovi documenti”, pp. 225–278.

²²³ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, pp. 105–106.

Acqui, Giovanni d'Alessandria, preceptor of Moncalieri, Fr. Gabriele Gambulara, Pierino Sperlino, Giacomo da Bologna, Alberto de Mezeta, preceptor of Brescia, Giovanni da Pavia, preceptor of Vercelli, Giacomo da Parma, preceptor of Cabriolo, Roggerio, preceptor of Genoa, Rainero di Casei Gerola, Ugo Gosio, preceptor of Cremona, Vassallo, and Bianco da Piacenza, preceptor of Asti.²²⁴ Here too, all the attending dignitaries came from northern Italy. There is no way of knowing if the brethren listed here with no specific title were actually preceptors of Templar houses. In all likelihood they either belonged to the house where the chapter was held or were companions of the summoned preceptors. The only one that can be traced as attending subsequent chapters in Piacenza, in 1268 and 1271, is Gabriele Gambulara. At the second meeting he is described as preceptor of the Templar houses of the March of Treviso, but there is no way of knowing whether he had already held this post previously. It seems strange, however, that this important position was not mentioned in 1268.

The next news of the Order's provincial chapters is again from Piacenza, where the assizes of 1268 and 1271 were held. Both meetings also dealt with a dispute with the commune of Modena over the hospital of Sant'Ambrogio.²²⁵ At the first meeting Bianco da Pigazzano was appointed the Order's procurator for the dispute in question by Enrico da Treviso, preceptor of Italy. The list of preceptors present in Piacenza on this occasion is particularly long and includes preceptors of houses not only in northern but also central Italy. In fact, Gualtiero, preceptor of San Filippo di Osimo and the March of Ancona, and Giacomo, preceptor of the house of Florence, were present.²²⁶ Three years later,

²²⁴ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²²⁵ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 29–55; C. Dondi, "*Missale Vetus ad usum templariorum: l'ordine dei cavalieri templari in area modenese nei secoli XII–XIV*", *Aevum*, 68 (1994), pp. 339–366; Dondi, "Manoscritti liturgici", pp. 92–100.

²²⁶ The Templar brethren who took part in this provincial chapter were: Giacomino di Alessandria, Tommaso di Asti, Luigi de Aquia, Giacomino di Tortona, Giovanni-bono di Bergamo, Alberto di Canelli, preceptor of the houses of Asti, Chieri and Gorra, Fr. Gabriele de Gambulara, Nicola, preceptor of the house of Pavia, Fr. Corrado de Parala, Ardizzone, preceptor of the house of Vercelli, Bosco, preceptor of the house of Murello, Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Alba, Giacomo, preceptor of the house of *Campaneia*, Gualterio, preceptor of San Filippo and *Marchia Anconitana*, Giovanni da Brescia, preceptor of the house of Reggio, Gilberto, preceptor of the house of Foligno, Giacomo, preceptor of the house of Florence, Alberto, preceptor of the house of Cerro, Gabriele, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, Uliverio, preceptor of the house of *Verzarius*, Alberto, preceptor of the house of Tortona, Manfredi, preceptor of the house of Alessandria, Usepio, preceptor of the house of Casale, Oberto, preceptor of

the provincial chapter held in Piacenza, still presided over by Enrico da Treviso, approved the agreement reached with the commune of Modena. Amongst the participants on this occasion were preceptors of houses in Piedmont, Lombardy, Veneto and Emilia Romagna. There is no mention, though, of any dignitaries from central Italy, apart from the preceptor of Foligno. This seems to confirm that provincial chapters held in Piacenza and Bologna were usually mainly attended by Templars who came from Emilia Romagna and North Italy.²²⁷

There are further references to provincial chapters in the testimonies of the tried Templars. There was another one in Piacenza in 1281, attended by about thirty brethren.²²⁸ In 1276 about fifty members of the Order met in Bologna. A subsequent meeting took place in the house of Cerro.²²⁹ Further chapters were held in Bologna in 1286²³⁰ and 1289.²³¹ It was in the places where these very meetings of Templar preceptors were held, both in Piacenza and Rome, that the mysterious idols worshipped by the Templars were said to have been kept.²³² The 1291 chapter probably took place in Piacenza,²³³ whereas in 1295 and 1296 it was probably in Bologna.²³⁴ The meetings attested to after this

the house of Moncalieri, Manfredi, preceptor of the house of Ivrea, Gerardo, preceptor of the house of Livorno, Bonfilio, preceptor of the house of Novara, Guglielmo, preceptor of the house of Bergamo, Amrico, preceptor of the house of Brescia, Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Padua, Ugo, preceptor of the house of Montebello. Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48–49. See also below, Part II, *passim*.

²²⁷ The preceptors present at this provincial chapter were: Alberto di Canelli, preceptor of the house of Asti, Gabriele de Gambelaria, preceptor of the houses of the *Marchia Trivixana*, Niccolò Baracchino, preceptor of the house of Pavia, Ardicio, preceptor of the house of Vercelli, Ivano, preceptor of the house of Alba, Oliviero, preceptor of the house of *Verzarius*, Girardus, preceptor of the house of Casei, Manfredo, preceptor of the house of Ivrea, Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Livorno, Gabriele, preceptor of the house of Ruspaglia, Ugo, preceptor of the house of Montebello, Ogerio, preceptor of the house of Verona, Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Valeggio, Guglielmo, preceptor of the house of Brescia, Gilberto, preceptor of the house of Foligno, Pietro, preceptor of the house of Modena, Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Reggio, B[...], preceptor of the house of Parma, Bonfilio, preceptor of the house of Cerro. Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52. See also below, Part II, *passim*.

²²⁸ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 461, 464. Another chapter held in Piacenza, at an unknown date, was attended by twelve brethren. *Ibid.*, p. 462.

²²⁹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

²³⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 461 ff.

²³¹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 464–465.

²³² Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 465–466, 473–474.

²³³ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 465.

²³⁴ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 471, 474. No admission is said to have taken place in this chapter, but an idol in the form of a head was worshipped.

occurred in 1300, 1303, 1304–1305 and 1306.²³⁵ The last of these took place in Piacenza and was said to have been attended by twenty or so brethren. In 1303 and 1304–1305 between forty and fifty brethren were convened. It was during a chapter in Bologna, on an unspecified date, that those present are said to have been given a cord that had been in contact with the idol.²³⁶ This evidence seems to confirm that between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the following century provincial chapters usually met once a year. The number of preceptors taking part in these meetings was variable. In 1227 fourteen preceptors met in Cabriolo. In 1244 eleven took part in the chapter held in Piacenza. In the documents relevant to the assemblies of 1268 and 1271 twenty-four and nineteen preceptors were listed respectively.²³⁷ Only the aforementioned trial testimony mentions chapters attended by forty to fifty brethren but we do not know how many of them were actually preceptors.

In this period the administrative centre of the Lombard Templar province was in Emilia, based mainly at the houses of Piacenza and Bologna. They were located approximately in the middle of the Templar province and were presumably large enough to accommodate the preceptors and brethren that were to attend the chapter. However, the importance of the Asti house, connected to the influence acquired by local aristocratic families in the Order, should not be underestimated. And it is also worth remembering that Bianco, former preceptor of the house of Asti,²³⁸ took charge of a number of Templar convents and became Master of Lombardy and then Italy, with the Asti preceptorship being given later on to Alberto di Canelli.²³⁹ It was still here that Bianco intended to go in 1267 *occasione solvendi debita de Pedemonto*. It was also in Asti that another member of the Canelli family, Albertino, and Nicola da Montecucco, both relatives of Masters of Lombardy, were admitted.²⁴⁰ In this period Asti was equally important for the Hospital

²³⁵ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 478, 479, 486, 485, 486.

²³⁶ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 466.

²³⁷ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, pp. 105–106; Campi, *Dell’Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

²³⁸ Campi, *Dell’Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²³⁹ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52; Barbero, “I signori di Canelli”, pp. 228–230; Capone, Imperio, “I Templari”, pp. 47–49.

²⁴⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 100; *Le procès*, I, pp. 425; Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 198–199; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 126.

being headquarters of the priory of Lombardy, which covered North-west Italy alone.²⁴¹

No summonses to the provincial chapter survive in North-west Italy. In 1203 and 1227 these meetings took place in October, in 1244 and 1268 in February, and in 1271 in mid-March. The scarce evidence traced so far seems to imply that these assemblies usually happened in autumn or at the end of winter. No descriptions of the procedure and work of an Italian provincial chapter are available. We do not know whether part of the *responsiones* was paid on this occasion.²⁴² Local masters were usually appointed during these assemblies but in North-west Italy the sources only confirm this practice for the promotion of Nicola de Celori to master of the house of Piacenza in 1244.

The existing documents issued during provincial chapters deal exclusively with administrative questions, ratifying financial transactions conducted by local preceptors, and stating their case in disputes. No evidence recounts the administration of justice which should have taken place during these meetings. However, the regulatory aspect of these meetings should not be underestimated. This is significantly attested to in the Munich code, which recalls a chapter held at *Villa Mausonii*. This manuscript, after the Rule of the Order, quotes some *Retraits* (disciplinary rules) in Latin, issued *Gratia Spiritus sancti et consilio fratrum capituli ville Mausonii* and it is also specified that *Hanc institutionem omnes fratres indesinenter teneant, ita ut nihil inde pretermittant, nisi licentia maioris magistri, qui in his Italie partibus moratur*.²⁴³ Simonetta Cerrini notes that this is the longest known section of *Retraits* in Latin.²⁴⁴ It dwells on the Templars' behaviour both within and without the houses and relationships with clergy, laymen and women. In particular, liturgical practices, fasts, penances, punishments, almsgiving, hospitality, acceptance of gifts and even simony are provided for in these rules.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ See above, note 23.

²⁴² Cf. Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 318–321.

²⁴³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2649, fols. 28^v, 32^v.

²⁴⁴ Cerrini, “Nuovi percorsi”, p. 39; Cerrini, “La tradition manuscrite”, pp. 209–210.

²⁴⁵ Before this set of rules, other regulations were added in the thirteenth century corresponding to *La règle du Temple*, pp. 153–154, nos. 224–232. For a description of the content of the manuscript and of these regulations see Cerrini, “Nuovi percorsi”, p. 45, tab. 2; S. Cerrini, “A New Edition of the Latin and French Rule of the Temple”, in H. Nicholson, ed., *Military Orders II. Welfare and Warfare* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 209. A complete transcription of these rules is in K. Knöpfler, “Die Ordensregel der Tempelherren”, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 8 (1887), pp. 670–674 (a new critical edition of these Latin

5. *The brethren*

The rank of ordinary brother was divided up into categories. Some were knights, from aristocratic families, primarily destined for combat and leadership roles. Social status was an important factor in hierarchical relationships within the Temple because often it was only members of the nobility who were trained for combat on horseback. At the same time the development of the concept and legal status of the knight led to the *milites* forming themselves into a closed group, which barred access to all those not descended from knightly stock by male lineage.²⁴⁶

The knights, who wore the white mantle with the vermilion cross, were assisted by sergeants, who were not of noble stock but nevertheless fought alongside the knights. They wore a black or brown tunic, performed various military tasks and carried lighter equipment.²⁴⁷

Whereas in the East, for obvious military reasons, the majority of the Templars were knights,²⁴⁸ in the West, in zones where there was no military action, they were mainly *fratres serventes*. These brothers had no armed duties, but undertook different roles in the various activities of the house. Anthony Luttrell has pointed out that they were the category most frequently involved in the interrogations that took place in the papal state.²⁴⁹ For example, the Templar brother Vivolo told the inquisitors that he was unable to answer their questions as he was basically involved in farming work²⁵⁰ and, in Tuscany the inquisition officials were obliged not to take into account some of the depositions made by brethren with menial roles.²⁵¹ At the same time, though, a *frater servens*, such as the aforementioned Fr. Cecco who was interrogated in Penne, had served as an emissary for the Master of Lombardy Ugucione di Vercelli.²⁵² Thus it is not always easy to determine which of the Western *fratres serventes* were engaged in simple farming work and which had more responsible tasks.

Retraits with references to the corresponding French version is in Simonetta Cerrini's forthcoming work on the Temple's Rules).

²⁴⁶ *La règle du Temple*, no. 337, p. 194, no. 431, p. 234, nos. 435–436, pp. 236–237, no. 586, pp. 304–305; Demurger, *Vie et mort*, pp. 73–74; A. Demurger, *Chevalier du Christ. Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. XIe–XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 2002), pp. 100–107.

²⁴⁷ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 190–193.

²⁴⁸ For mobility in military orders see Burgtorf, Nicholson, eds., *International Mobility*.

²⁴⁹ Luttrell, "Les exploitations", p. 111.

²⁵⁰ *The Trial of Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 216.

²⁵¹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 501.

²⁵² *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 132.

There were also presbyters or chaplains in the Order, as confirmed by the papal bull *Omne datum optimum* (1139). This decree was also issued to regularise an existing state of affairs, given that there were already a number of priests in the Order.²⁵³

The organisation of the Temple thus differentiated between those of aristocratic birth and those not, those who did not farm and those who did and, finally, those who prayed, those who fought and those who worked (as in the famous description of mediaeval society by Adalbero of Laon).²⁵⁴

As for North-west Italy, the sources provide very little information on the internal organisation of the Templar houses and the division of roles between the brethren. No evidence survives which allows us to investigate the number and age of the Templar brethren living in the houses of North-west Italy. There are four cases available to us in which *canavarii*,²⁵⁵ the brothers engaged in distribution,²⁵⁶ are mentioned and there is just one mention of a *portonarius*, attested to in 1164, in the house of Sant'Apollinare, whose job was to guard the entrance of the *domus*.²⁵⁷ The primary sources only mention a few priests and in some cases (in Cremona in 1193, and perhaps in Asti in 1286 and in Piacenza in 1304) they were secular priests who performed liturgical functions in the Templar churches.²⁵⁸

Templars bearing the rank of *milites* are only mentioned in very few cases, whereas members of the Order who held a priestly role

²⁵³ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 195–198.

²⁵⁴ Demurger, *Vie et mort*, p. 73.

²⁵⁵ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cart. 5, 16th of October 1304; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 6, pp. 218–219; *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore di Torino. Appendice di carte varie relative a chiese e monasteri di Torino*, ed. F. Cognasso, BSSS 44 (Pinerolo, 1908), doc. 148, p. 196; *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 211, p. 174; Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, no. 6; Bellomo, “Da mansion templare”, doc. 12, p. 374.

²⁵⁶ *Glossario latino-emiliano*, p. 66; *Glossario latino-italiano. Stato della Chiesa-Veneto-Abruzzi*, ed. P. Sella, Studi e Testi 109 (Vatican City, 1944), p. 111. For these kind of friars see A. D'Amato, *I Domenicani a Bologna*, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1988), I, 1218–1600, p. 268.

²⁵⁷ *Glossario latino-emiliano*, p. 278. This position exists in a number of ecclesiastical institutes and in the papal court. An erroneous interpretation of the document had resulted in the identification of a brother with the role of *protonotarius*. Bramato, *Storia*, II, doc. 43, p. 86.

²⁵⁸ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 99; *Documenti capitolari del secolo XIII (1265–1266, 1285–1288, 1291, 1296–1298)*, eds. A.M. Cotto, P. D'Acquino (Asti, 1987), docs. 594–595, p. 288; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304. For this issue see Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 272–273; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 197–198.

are referred to more often. Non-specific references are much more frequent. Also, there is no specific mention of *fratres serventes*, who were highly active in the labour force in other Italian regions.²⁵⁹ It should be remembered, though, that it is only in the trial testimonies that the roles of individual suspects are clearly stated, and that references to roles in the previous records are few and far between. Unfortunately, no surviving transcripts of the interrogations of the brethren in this area have reached us, and the only available references to the region in question are in the interrogation held in Cesena in 1310.²⁶⁰ This lack of information stops us from estimating the number of *fratres serventes* in relation to knights and the roles they fulfilled, for example. All that we can do is presume that the situation in North-west Italy did not differ significantly from that documented in other regions of the peninsula, and that they made up a substantial labour force in the area, a labour force that could be used at times for other tasks.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that, despite the Rule which forbade the admission of sisters, there is evidence of the existence of some Templar *sorores*.²⁶¹ The records of the trial in Cyprus mention a certain Ymberta de Cremena who may have been an actual *soror* of the Temple perhaps from Cremona, but, this can also be an erroneous transcription of the name of Humbert of Cremi or Crimen, a Templar brother also mentioned in the French interrogations.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ Bramato, *Storia*, I, pp. 170–175.

²⁶⁰ See below, Chapter V, pp. 184–185.

²⁶¹ For the female component of the Order see S. Cerrini, “Le *sorores Templi*”, DIP 7, cols. 896–898; A.J. Forey, “Women and the Military Orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries”, *Studia Monastica*, 29 (1987), pp. 63–92, reprinted in A.J. Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades* (London, 1994), essay IV; H. Nicholson, “Templar Attitudes towards Women”, *Medieval History*, 1 (1991), pp. 74–80; Tommasi, “Uomini e donne”, pp. 177–202; F. Tommasi, “Per i rapporti tra Templari e cistercensi. Orientamenti e indirizzi di ricerca”, in G. Viti, ed., *I Templari. Tra riti cavallereschi e fedeltà alla chiesa* (Certosa di Firenze, 1995), p. 272; H. Nicholson, “The Military Orders and their Relations with Women”, in Hunyadi, Laszlovszky, *The Crusades*, pp. 407–414; H. Nicholson, “Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies”, in Luttrell, Pressouyre, eds., *La Commanderie*, pp. 125–132.

²⁶² *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 110, note 203; *Le procès*, II, pp. 352, 366; Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang* II, pp. 359–360; Tommasi, *Uomini e donne*, p. 196, note 79.

6. *The Templar familiares*

The Order's Rule stated that the brethren could be accompanied by *famuli*.²⁶³ In war zones the Templar houses could also provide accommodation to lay knights who wished to fight for the Order for a limited amount of time. Unfortunately, we have no information of this type of service being provided by knights from North-west Italy.²⁶⁴ The other people who could be accommodated in the houses or who gravitated around them were called *donati*, *conversi*, *familiares* and *confratres*.²⁶⁵

The oblates or *donati* were persons who either offered themselves to God or were offered by their parents or guardians. They were present in a range of ecclesiastical institutes (Benedictine and Cluniacensian monasteries, Mendicant and hospitaller orders, etc.) and all had a strong link with a religious institution to which they were affiliated without having taken solemn vows. In the Temple's case, the *traditio animae et corporis* of the *donati* implied the obligations of obedience and the acceptance of the Order's customs, and sometimes involved the wearing of a religious habit. In exchange for these obligations the layman had the possibility of being admitted into the local Templar house and to share in all the spiritual benefits connected to this affiliation.²⁶⁶

The term *conversus* initially meant a member of a monastic family who did not take the solemn vows but nevertheless led a pious life. Later on, in orders such as the Cistercian Order, it referred to a religious person who was bound to all the basic obligations of monastic life but who, not being a cleric, was barred from liturgical office. They were part of a separate class, entrusted with manual work only. Within the Temple this term usually meant those not fully professed.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel*, pp. 15–16.

²⁶⁴ Cf. G. Ligato, "Fra ordini cavallereschi e crociata: 'milites ad terminum' e 'confraternitates' armate", in *Militia Christi' e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII*. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989 (Milan, 1992), pp. 646–697.

²⁶⁵ For the meaning of the term *famulus* see Ch. De Miramon, *Les «donnés» au Moyen Âge. Une forme de vie religieuse laïque. v. 1180 – v. 1500* (Paris, 1999), pp. 74–75.

²⁶⁶ *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, doc. A 8, pp. 18–19; *Cartulaire des Templiers de Montsaunès*, doc. 1, p. 224, doc. 41, p. 248; E. Magnou, "Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage dans les maisons méridionales du Temple au XII^e siècle", *Annales du Midi*, 73 (1961), pp. 382–386. See also J. Dubois, J.-P. Müller, I. De Angelis, C. Egger, I. Omaechevarría, L. Saggi, D.-M. Montagna, "Oblato", *DIP* 6 (Rome, 1980), cols. 654–676; G. Rocca, "Oblazione", *ibid.*, cols. 676–678.

²⁶⁷ Cf. S. Beccaria, "I conversi nel Medioevo. Un problema storico e storiografico",

The ties that the *confratres* had with their chosen house were various and could also be less binding. If they gave an annual donation, for example, they could be included in the prayers of the Templars.²⁶⁸ It is worth noting that the word *confrater*, though, can also be used to mean brethren of the Order in a general sense.²⁶⁹ The word *familiaris* had a complex meaning as well. In the Cistercian Order, for instance, it initially meant a lay *confrater* but later applied also to “semi-religieux qui occupent dans le monastère une place inférieure aux convers puisque le chapitre punit les convers désobéissants en les rétrogradant dans le statut de familier.”²⁷⁰

Often the associates donated some possessions to the Temple and kept the income from them. The Order shared its spiritual and—in case of need—material benefits with them. In fact, there were also numerous acts of *traditio* of persons and possessions, which were then compensated materially by the recipient.²⁷¹ Frequently the Templars exempted the lands received as donations from the related obligations and then rented them to the donors themselves. In this case “La donation de soi possède donc non seulement un caractère pénitentiel, mais de plus un caractère socio-économique étroitement lié au premier.”²⁷²

There was also a *traditio per hominem* which implied admission into the Temple at servant level for those who made a donation.²⁷³ This tie was entirely voluntary, and responded to the donor’s need to rely on the protection of an important ecclesiastical institute.²⁷⁴ And so, wearing the habit was not always the result of being affiliated, but they were often needed in order to be entitled to the benefits, either spiritual or material, of the Order.²⁷⁵

Quaderni Medievali, 46 (1998), pp. 153–156; Nicholson, “Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies”, p. 126.

²⁶⁸ J.C.S. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of Saint John in Jerusalem and Cyprus. c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), p. 243 ff.

²⁶⁹ Niermayer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon*, pp. 244–245; *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 795, p. 427.

²⁷⁰ Ch. De Miramon, *Les «donnés»*, p. 76.

²⁷¹ *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, doc. A 175, pp. 157–158, doc. A 199, pp. 171–172; Magnou, “Oblature”, pp. 386–389.

²⁷² Magnou, “Oblature”, p. 391.

²⁷³ *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, doc. A 10, pp. 22–23, doc. A 52–53, pp. 60–62.

²⁷⁴ Magnou, “Oblature”, pp. 391–395.

²⁷⁵ F. Tommasi, “Uomini e donne negli ordini militari di Terrasanta. Per il problema delle case doppie e miste negli ordini giannita, templare e teutonico (secc. XII–XIV)”, in K. Elm, M. Parisse, eds., *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiösen in Mittelalter*, Berliner Historische Studien 18 (Berlin, 1992), p. 185.

The class of affiliates to the Military Orders was thus extremely heterogeneous. Equally varied is the terminology used in the sources to name these individuals, and distinguishing between those living in the Templar houses and those living externally, yet linked to the Order, is often far from easy. It is also difficult to know their actual degree of affiliation. Furthermore, at the end of the thirteenth century terms connected to different legal-religious statuses, such as *donatus*, *confrater*, *familiaris* and *conversus*, were often used as synonyms.²⁷⁶ Whilst having tried to define these different degrees and ways of affiliation, we have to admit that the situation described in the documents is very fluid, with no rigid distinctions.²⁷⁷ With regard to North-west Italy in particular these distinctions cannot be made because of the scantiness of the evidence.

The presence of Templar affiliates in this area is referred to right from the earliest mentions of the Order. In 1143 Oberto, protagonist of several deeds and denoted in one of them as a *conversus* of the Temple, was attested to for the first time in Albenga in 1143.²⁷⁸ In 1145, in Bergamo, Giselberto, the son of Giselberto di Attone, was said to be *Hierosolimitano Templo ad serviendum Deo traditus et oblatus*,²⁷⁹ and in 1149 Bonifacio, preceptor of the Templar house of Milan, rented the property of the late Dalmazio de Verzario, *qui fuit confrater ipsius mansionis*.²⁸⁰ In this case it appears highly likely that the term *confrater*, rarely used in the documents in the area being studied, refers to a lay affiliate and not a fully professed member of the Order. In 1167 Robaldo Marabotto and his wife Giusta donated themselves and part of their possessions to the Templar church of San Calocero in Albenga.²⁸¹ In 1181 another affiliate, Ugo de Verzario, was mentioned in the area of

²⁷⁶ Cf. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of Saint John*, pp. 242–246; A.M. Legras, “Les effectifs de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dans le Prieuré de France en 1373”, *Revue Mabillon*, 60 (1984), pp. 353–394; G. Müller, *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 13 (Marburg, 1980), p. 32ff.; D. Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister. Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania. 1100–1300* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 115–141.

²⁷⁷ Nicholson, “Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies”, p. 127.

²⁷⁸ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 30–34. In one of these deeds, Carlo Converso is mentioned too. It is not certain whether this refers to a Templar affiliate. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁷⁹ Bellomo, “Una mansione”, doc. 1, pp. 193–194.

²⁸⁰ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 2, p. 214.

²⁸¹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49. For a couple who entered a Templar house see Tommasi, “Uomini e donne”, pp. 183–184; Nicholson, “Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies”, pp. 129–130.

Pavia, referred to as *deditus mansionis de Templo*.²⁸² In the *Necrologi eusebiani* it is written that Guala I Bicchieri, a Vercelli nobleman, *militie templi cum maximis facultatibus se ipsum dedit*.²⁸³ As Guala joined the Third Crusade, this is the only case in North-west Italy in which a precise link of a lay affiliate with the crusading movement is attested to.²⁸⁴ On the basis of this early evidence it seems that the Order had been an instant success, also gaining favour with a number of laymen who very soon became linked to its houses, sometimes giving generous donations.

In most cases the social origins of these people are not stated. The fact that Giselberto, the son of Giselberto di Attone, perhaps belonged to the noble Colleoni family demonstrates that the practice of affiliation, right from the Order's first period of expansion in North-west Italy, could constitute an important link in relations between the Temple and the local nobility.²⁸⁵ These relationships become more evident in the case of Guala I Bicchieri, exponent of one of the more eminent families in Vercelli. He was consul several times and a member of the *credenza*.²⁸⁶

Further references to lay affiliates occur in the thirteenth century. Arrigo, *conversus* of the Temple of Milan, was mentioned in 1244,²⁸⁷ and in 1291 reference is made to a certain Albertino, described as the person who accompanied Giacomo da Pigazzano, master of the Milanese house.²⁸⁸

In 1256 Giovanni Banasta and Bosso, *conversi domus manssionis de Templo*, gave testimony of the drafting of a deed that informed Giacomo di Selberico of Asti that he had been selected as *podestà* of Moncalieri.²⁸⁹ Given that the two affiliates are referred to here as *fratres*, it is possible that they had opted for the religious life but were not fully professed. In 1286, in Asti, Giacomo Carraccia from Savona was referred to in two documents as *confrater, syndicus et procurator domus Militie Templi*.²⁹⁰ Here

²⁸² *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 137, p. 226.

²⁸³ "I necrologi eusebiani", no. 172, p. 383.

²⁸⁴ "I necrologi eusebiani", no. 172, p. 383; Pastè, "Per la storia", p. 262.

²⁸⁵ A. Sala, "Le famiglie Suardi e Colleoni nei primi secoli del Comune di Bergamo", *Atti dell'Ateneo di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Bergamo*, 51/1 (1989-1990), p. 269 ff.

²⁸⁶ Fonseca, "Ricerche", pp. 211-216.

²⁸⁷ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 1, p. 439.

²⁸⁸ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 81-82.

²⁸⁹ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune di Moncalieri, Serie Generale, no. 244. Luca Patria drew my attention on this document.

²⁹⁰ *Documenti capitolari del secolo XIII (1265-1266, 1285-1288, 1291, 1296-1298)*, eds. A.M. Cotto, P. D'Acquino (Asti, 1987), doc. 398, pp. 184-185, doc. 614, p. 297.

too the term *confrater* is not easily interpretable, but Giacomo may have actually been a lay associate of the Order. He requested the authentication of papal documents on the Temple and thus seems to have been acting as its representative, perhaps in a dispute.

In 1304 there is also reference to Pietro, son of the late Alberto da Meda, and Euberto, son of *ser* [...] de Monte, *familiares* and residents of the Templar house of Milan.²⁹¹ In 1310 the *puer* Scurlino was mentioned, *famulus* of the preceptor Raimondo Fontana, who cooperated with the inquisitor when Raimondo was under arrest.²⁹²

The above references to lay affiliates of the Temple are, unfortunately, rather generic. The only deed of affiliation available to us is that of the man and wife Robaldo Marabotto and Giusta. This is a *traditio* accompanied by a material donation.²⁹³ As usual, the deed specifies that on the death of one of the spouses the surviving partner will be entitled to reside in the Templar house. What is more unusual is that Robaldo became trustee of the entire estate of the house, for which he paid an annuity. Furthermore, one of the *confratres* of the *mansio* was to be constantly at his service. If the term *confrater* here does not mean members of the Temple to all intents and purposes, then this reference corroborates the presence of other lay affiliates in the house. Having said this, it comes as no surprise that Marabotto subsequently effected a number of financial transactions on behalf of the house of Albenga. On the basis of these deeds it has been assumed that Giusta had died and that her husband had come to live at San Calocero. In actual fact, the role played by Marabotto coincides with the previously mentioned trusteeship and does not necessarily imply his admission into the house of the Temple. Previously, still in Albenga, Oberto, a Templar *conversus* able to read the documents that he had signed, had performed similar tasks. There are also other representatives of the house of Albenga mentioned in the records who are not described as *fratres* and could be lay affiliates.

Around 1244 Rogerio, preceptor of the house of Genoa, gave Raul di Campagna the task of recovering the alms collected by Isnardo da Bologna and Guido Fuscignaria.²⁹⁴ The status of the procurator and

²⁹¹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304.

²⁹² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 527.

²⁹³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49. Thanks to H. Nicholson and A. Luttrell for answering some queries on this deed.

²⁹⁴ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 11–13.

the collectors is not stated in the document but it is very likely that they were lay people associated to the Temple. The same is valid for Vivaldo de Vecia and his delegate Guglielmo Ridolfino de Palma, who was to collect the Templar alms and income in the dioceses of Tortona and in Valle Scrivia in 1254.²⁹⁵

In 1180 a *consorcium Templi*, or rather a lay confraternity, was attested to in Piacenza, perhaps dedicated to charitable activity.²⁹⁶ It may indeed have been possible that this kind of activity was yet another catalyst in the relationship between the Temple and lay society. The possibility that lay confraternities or groups of *conversi* were already working in the hospitals assigned to the Temple and may have been assimilated into the Order should not be ruled out. A process of this kind could have taken place in Modena. When the Order acquired the hospital of Sant'Ambrogio one of the stated conditions was that the lay brethren and confraternity brothers working there up to that time should be accepted into the Temple and provided with board, lodging and clothing, irrespective of whether they wanted to join the Order or not.²⁹⁷ This may well have happened in other places, even though, unfortunately, we have no evidence of it.

A case worth noting is Milan, where, in 1226, a *scola* was attested to, amongst whose *decani* there was the master of the local Templar house and a layman. As noted previously, it seems highly likely that this institute was dedicated to providing care.²⁹⁸ The presence of a cleric and a layman amongst the *decani* seems to further underline the shared intent of the Order and some laymen. Unfortunately, we do not know the level of affiliation of those in the *scola*.

The *familiares* of the Order could be women too, but records of female associates of the Temple in North-west Italy are virtually nonexistent. All that has been found so far is the mention of Giusta, Templar affiliate and wife of Robaldo Marabotto, whom the Templars agreed to

²⁹⁵ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109.

²⁹⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, pp. 52. The term *consortium* can mean the sharing of a property or possession (for a mention of these *consortia Templi*, see *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera*, doc. 169, p. 109) or, as in this case, a *pia societas* of laymen. C. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. L. Favre, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–1887), II, p. 521.

²⁹⁷ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 35–37. In 1170 the Templars of Reggio Emilia are said to have handed over the running of their hospital to a lay brotherhood. Rombaldi, *Hospitale*, p. 21.

²⁹⁸ See above, Chapter II, pp. 72–73.

accommodate in the house of Albenga should her husband die before her.²⁹⁹ At least one female *conversa* is mentioned as being present in the house of Piacenza.³⁰⁰

In conclusion, affiliation to the Temple was a useful way of consolidating the Order's presence in local society. Affiliates acted as representatives in financial transactions and perhaps also in legal matters. They probably collected the Order's alms and sometimes worked together with the Templars in the provision of care. This variety of roles underlines how the Temple was a part of local life in many ways, establishing positive relationships with lay society at several levels.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49.

³⁰⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 532. There are three different mentions: two of them refer generally to a *conversa*, and the third to a *conversa mansionis*. It is impossible to establish whether it is the same person. We do not know whether the *conversus* of the hospital of Orto belonged to the Temple. *Ibid.*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 524. Finally, note that there is an attestation that comes from the *contado* of Mantua. Up to now there is insufficient proof of the existence of a local Templar house. The only document regarding the Templars traced in this area was, in fact, a donation, made not to a particular house, but to the *Templum* (S. Davari, “Notizie storiche topografiche della città di Mantova nei secoli XIII e XIV”, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ser. III, 7–8 (1897), p. 280, no. 3; Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 104–106). The Templar presence in the Mantua area is confirmed, however, by a deed of sale for some land in Cereto di Marmirolo, dated 1306, in which general reference is made to *iura feminarum de Templo*. *L'archivio capitolare della cattedrale di Mantova fino alla caduta dei Bonacolsi*, ed P. Torelli (Verona, 1924), doc. 281, p. 391.

³⁰¹ The situation appears to be different in central and southern Italy, where the records often make reference to lay affiliates of humble origin. For instance, see Ciarmaruconi, “L'ordine templare”, pp. 93–94.

CHAPTER IV

TAKING ROOT IN LOCAL SOCIETY: RECRUITING THE NOBILITY AND RELATIONS WITH ECCLESIASTICAL AND COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS

1. *Relations with the nobility*

The earliest records of the Templar presence in North-west Italy reveal that the Order began recruiting from the local aristocracy right from the start. In Milan, in 1149, there were two members of the noble Grassi and Cancellieri families amongst the brethren of the Templar house.¹ Also, the likelihood that the affiliate Giselberto, son of Giselberto di Attone, attested to in Bergamo in 1145, may have been a member of the important Colleoni family,² further implies that the local ruling class reacted positively to the establishment of the Templars in the city.

Above all, however, it was the Piedmont aristocracy that was well disposed to Military Orders, not only because of the relationship that some of the families had with the Latin East, but also because of a conscious attempt on their part to affirm their status by associating with these new organisations, as the possibilities of doing this were very restricted by the development of the communes.

Of interest here is the Biandrate family³ who were amongst the first patrons of Templar expansion in the Lombardy area. During the

¹ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 2, p. 214; G. Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo e alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano nei secoli bassi*, 12 vols. (Milan, 1760–1775), I, pp. 540, 688, II, p. 368, III, p. 377; *Liber Notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani*, eds. M. Magistretti, U. Monneret de Villard (Milan, 1971), col. 49 A. For this subject see also A.J. Forey, "Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to mid-Fourteenth Centuries)", *Viator*, 17 (1986), pp. 139–171, reprinted in A.J. Forey, *Military Orders*, essay II; A. Demurger, "L'aristocrazia laica e gli ordini militari in Francia nel Duecento: il caso della Bassa Borgogna", in Coli, De Marco, Tommasi, eds., *Militia Sacra*, pp. 55–84; Jossierand, *Église*, pp. 373–455; Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 108–132.

² Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 1, p. 193; Sala, "Le famiglie", p. 269ff.

³ For the Counts of Biandrates see A. Raggi, *I conti di Biandrate* (Novara, 1933); S. Boesch Gajano, "Biandrate", *DBI* 10 (Rome, 1968), pp. 264–282; G.M. Virgili, "I

twelfth and thirteenth centuries this family had been quite active in the East and had participated in a number of crusades. Guido and Alberto di Biandrate, followed by the younger Ottone, had been military commanders in the unsuccessful Lombard expedition of 1100–1101 and, after suffering a defeat in Anatolia, reached the Holy Land and were militarily active for a few years in the service of the king of Jerusalem.⁴ More or less equally ill-fated was Guido, Alberto's son, in the Second Crusade.⁵ The Biandrates were, nevertheless, also involved in the Fourth Crusade, which attracted numerous recruits from Lombardy. After the death of Boniface I of Montferrat (1207), participation in this crusade guaranteed Oberto II di Biandrate the regency of the kingdom of Thessalonika. This episode, too, was destined to end badly and in 1214 Oberto returned to the West.⁶ The Biandrate family's involvement in the East had basically been a result of their desire to avoid the pressure that was being applied on them by the Lombard communes which was undermining their influence.⁷

The links they had formed with Outremer imply that the family must have known about the Templars from at least the time of the Second Crusade. In 1148, in fact, William V of Montferrat (d. c.1191) and Guido di Biandrate were present in Acre along with the other main crusaders and the Templar and Hospitaller Grand Masters.⁸ A little less than twenty years later the very same Guido, together with his sons, donated all the family's possessions in Ruspaglia and San Giorgio Canavese to the Temple. The confirmation of this legacy, which appears only in the unpublished chronicle of Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentiliū suorum et rerum successibus*, is here dated 1174.⁹ The indiction stated in this document is wrong, though, and actually cor-

possedimenti dei conti di Biandrate nei secoli XI e XIV", *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 72 (1974), pp. 633–685; G. Andenna, "I conti di Biandrate e le città della Lombardia occidentale (secoli XI e XII)", in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (sec. IX–XII) II*. Atti del II convegno di Pisa: 3–4 dicembre 1993, *Nuovi Studi Storici* 39 (Rome, 1996), pp. 57–84.

⁴ Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 153–159. Ottone died in the Holy Land in 1104. Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae Expeditionis pro Ereptione, Emendatione et Restitutione Sanctae Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiae*, RHC Occ 4 (Paris, 1889), pp. 582–583.

⁵ Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 161–162.

⁶ Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 166–174.

⁷ Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 174–175.

⁸ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CC.CM 63–63a (Turnhout, 1976), II, p. 760.

⁹ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Storia patria 530, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentiliū suorum et rerum successibus*, fols. 32^v–33^v.

responds to that of 1164. In reality, it seems as though Guido was no longer active from 1167 onwards and his death is entered in this same year in the *Necrologi eusebiani*.¹⁰ From this period forwards the narrative sources also refer generally to a *comes de Blandrate*, which may not necessarily be Guido. In a deed of March 1167, a few days after the date of his death as entered in the *Necrologi eusebiani*, he was not referred to as *quondam*, but it should be noted that from this date onwards his sons acted entirely independently, with no paternal protection or constraints.¹¹ In 1172, for example, Uberto di Biandrate stipulated a treaty with Asti and Chieri, with no mention of his father.¹² These facts seem to make it highly likely that Guido did die in 1167 and make it necessary to put the date of the document regarding the donation to the Temple back ten years, as Benvenuto may well have simply mistaken *sexagesimo* for *septuagesimo*. The reasons for the Biandrate family's favourable attitude to the Templars, as borne out by this donation, were based not only on their direct acquaintance with the Order, but also on the closeness of the Lombard Templars to the imperial cause at this time, a cause the Biandrate family supported, albeit with some reservations.¹³

The relationship that had formed between the family and the Temple did not cease to exist with the 1164 donation. Later on several members of the family were attested to as heads of the Order's houses, wearing the Templar habit. In September 1247 Oddone di Biandrate, with the consent of Giacomo de Balma, procurator of the Temple in Lombardy, rented the hill of Montemaggiore to the commune of Savigliano.¹⁴ Ottone di San Giorgio, in all probability another descendant of this noble family, participated in the admission of Nicola di Montecucco into the Order, which presumably took place at the turn of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries in Asti.¹⁵ He may be identifiable as Oddino di San Giorgio, preceptor of Murello, attested to in 1308.¹⁶

¹⁰ "I necrologi eusebiani", no. 169, p. 383; Raggi, *I conti*, p. 73ff.

¹¹ *I Biscioni*, eds. G.C. Faccio, M. Ranno, R. Ordano, 6 vols., BSSS 145–146, 178, 181, 189, 211 (Turin, 1934–2000), I/2, doc. 287, p. 133.

¹² *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 62, pp. 122–124.

¹³ See above, Chapter I, pp. 32–37. The Biandrate family also had a constant relationship with Milanese society. Andenna, "I conti di Biandrate", pp. 65–66.

¹⁴ Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, pp. 263–264; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 89.

¹⁵ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 198–199, 341–343; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 125–127, 321–327.

¹⁶ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 5.

Another name that was continuously linked to the Temple was that of the Ponzone family.¹⁷ In 1189 the marquis Enrico, his brother, and their relative Giacomo di Ponzone made a donation to Santa Maria di Rivalta *ut deus et dominus noster assertione Beate Virginis Marie a servitio Ierosolimitano sanos et incolumes ad limina eorum redire concedat*.¹⁸ They were preparing to leave for the Holy Land, where two years earlier Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of Saladin. It has been thought, wrongly, that this family had relations with the Templars from as early as about midway through the twelfth century.¹⁹ This assertion was based on a deed dividing up the property between the heirs of the marquis Bonifacio del Vasto, dated 1142 and transcribed at the request of the Templar Enrico di Ponzone. The deed is not authentic and, as we have already seen, was a forgery produced by Meyranesio.²⁰ However, two or three Templars bearing the name of Enrico di Ponzone were attested to in the sources during the following century. One was preceptor of the houses of Pavia *et a Papia superius* in 1252.²¹ A *dominus Enricus Templarius* was mentioned as witness to a charter relevant to Tommaso di Ponzone in 1263²² and could be a descendant of this lineage. Also, Bianca Capone has recently traced an unedited charter from 1271 in which the Templar Enrico di Ponzone is said to be the son of the marquis Alberto (d.1264),²³ and further mentions of a Templar Enrico di Ponzone can be found between 1283 and 1289²⁴ in testimonies where he was described as an ordinary member of the Order. The mentions from 1271 and 1283–1289 may refer to the same person.

¹⁷ R. Pavoni, "Ponzone e i suoi marchesi", in G. Soldi Rondini, ed., *Il Monferrato: crocevia politico, economico e culturale tra Mediterraneo e Europa*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Ponzone, 9–12 giugno 1998 (Ponzone, 2000), pp. 15–56.

¹⁸ *Cartari dell'abazia di Rivalta Scrivia*, ed. A.F. Trucco, 2 vols., BSSS 59–60 (Pinerolo, 1910–1911), I, doc. 107, p. 105.

¹⁹ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 42.

²⁰ Muletti, *Memorie*, II, pp. 20–34 (Enrico is quoted at p. 34); Provero, *Dai marchesi del Vasto*, p. 94, note 57. See also above, Introduction, p. 6.

²¹ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, p. 209.

²² *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda*, II, doc. 468, p. 86.

²³ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Paesi per A e B, mazzo 19, Ponti, 1271; B. Capone, "Nuove ricerche in Piemonte. Dignitari nel comitato di Acquesana. Il maestro d'Italia del 1203", in *Atti del XIX Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 2001), pp. 70–71.

²⁴ *Monumenta Aquensia*, II, doc. 9, col. 524, doc. 109, col. 661, doc. 182, col. 693; Ponziglione, "Saggio", pp. 143–144; L. Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio storico intorno ai Tempieri del Piemonte e degli altri Stati di S.A.R. Maestà il re di Sardegna", in *Ricreazione storica composta di memorie diverse* (Genoa, 1848), p. 58; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 242–243. He is not thought to be identifiable as the bishop of Savona of the same name. Pavoni, "Ponzone", p. 41, note 78.

However, according to Romeo Pavoni, it is more likely that the second Enrico was a member of the family branch descending from Emanuele (d.1263), in which the name Enrico often recurs. The master of the houses of Pavia *et a Papia superius* may descend from this branch too.²⁵ Furthermore, Bonifacio di Ponzone, preceptor of Santa Margherita in Acqui in 1244, belonged to the same family²⁶ and was probably related to the aforementioned Alberto. Thus, two branches of the Ponzone family seem to have joined the Temple.²⁷

Pietro, the marquis of Ponzone, also appears in a number of documents regarding the Temple. In 1222 he was present at the drafting of the deed in which Giovanni Lombardo, *domorum militie templi in Italia preceptor sive secundum vocabula Lombardorum magister*, appointed his representative, Giacomo de Mellacio, preceptor of the *domus* of San Giacomo d'Albareto in Vercelli.²⁸ Pietro di Ponzone was also mentioned in 1227 in a document issued in a Templar building that ratified the uniting of Boniface of Montferrat and the commune of Asti against Alessandria.²⁹

Another Piedmont lineage whose members had relations with the Temple, albeit very poorly documented, was that of the lords of Barge. In 1148 Ardicio di Barge was named as one of the noblemen who joined the Second Crusade to follow Amadeus III of Savoy.³⁰ We do not know how favourably this experience in Outremer affected relations between his family and the Military Order as it is not until 1266 that we find a reference to Federico de Bargiis, preceptor of the *domus* of Murello. He was present at the sale of some properties by the commune and men of Racconigi. A certain Rufino de Bargiis was named in this deed as castellan of Racconigi at the behest of the marquis of Saluzzo, who had given his approval to the transaction.³¹ In 1285 another Templar named Federico de Bargiis was attested to as preceptor of the house of Asti.³² We cannot be absolutely certain that the person referred to here was the preceptor of Murello, but the possibility that he had been promoted to be in charge of this important house should not be ruled out.

²⁵ See the genealogy in Pavoni, "Ponzone", pp. 55–56.

²⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²⁷ I am most grateful to Romeo Pavoni for helping me to examine these pieces of evidence.

²⁸ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 151.

²⁹ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 915, p. 1038.

³⁰ *Regesta Comitum Sabaudie*, ed. D. Carutti (Turin, 1889), doc. 297, p. 197.

³¹ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 430, p. 342.

³² *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194.

Another name associated with the Savoy entourage was that of the Balma family,³³ of which Giacomo, the Templar dignitary who endorsed the renting of Montemaggiore to Savigliano, was probably a member.³⁴

In Vercelli a number of links can be traced between the Temple and the Bicchieri family,³⁵ which probably began with the affiliation of Guala I, father of cardinal Guala II Bicchieri and high-ranking member of the ruling group of the commune.³⁶ This associate perhaps became acquainted with the Templars in the Holy Land, where he took part in the Third Crusade, but he may well have already been affiliated to the Temple before leaving for the East. The only reference to his affiliation is in his entry in the *Necrologi eusebiani*, with no mention of any date.³⁷ Afterwards his son, cardinal Guala II, left a legacy to the local Templar house,³⁸ whereas another member of the family, Martino, brother of the oblate mentioned above, was named as witness to a deed regarding the Templar presence in the area of Vercelli. He too belonged to the local ruling class, having been consul several times and having performed a number of highly important diplomatic and administrative missions for the commune.³⁹ New links between the Bicchieri family and the crusades were attested to in a document from 1219, in which Manfredo Bicchieri, son of Guala I and brother of cardinal Guala II, was named as one of the trustees of money destined for people from Vercelli who had been in Outremer.⁴⁰

A member of Asti's ruling class was Rolando Bergognino, the Templar preceptor who had conducted the sale of the Gorra estate to the commune of Chieri and who was in charge of the Templar houses on the hills of Turin.⁴¹ In Casale Monferrato, too, consular families such as the Bazanos and Garilios responded positively to Templar recruitment

³³ *Regesta Comitum Sabaudie*, doc. 297, p. 197.

³⁴ Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, pp. 263–264; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 89.

³⁵ For this lineage see Fonseca, "Ricerche", pp. 207–262.

³⁶ Fonseca, "Ricerche", pp. 211–216.

³⁷ "I necrologi eusebiani", no. 172, p. 383; Pastè, "Per la storia", p. 262.

³⁸ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 51; Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti*, pp. 4–6, 110–120.

³⁹ *Cartario del monastero di Muleggio e di Selve*, ed. G. Sella, BSSS 85/1 (Pinerolo, 1916), doc. 17, p. 22; V. Mandelli, *Il comune di Vercelli nel Medio Evo*, 3 vols. (Vercelli, 1857–1861), III, p. 269; Fonseca, "Ricerche", pp. 216–218.

⁴⁰ Pastè, "Per la storia", p. 262.

⁴¹ See below, pp. 159–160. The presence of Corrado Scarampo in Santa Maria del Tempio in 1286 is another factor that indicates that the Templars of Asti entertained relations with a family of considerable importance in the city. See below, Part II, p. 302.

efforts,⁴² whereas in Ivrea, *domini* Robaldo and Pasquale, identifiable as Robaldo and Pasquale de Civitate, two leading members of the town's ruling class, were the *advocati* of the local Templar house.⁴³

Another important recruitment ground for the Temple was the Emilia area. Here a significant role was played by the Fontana family from Piacenza which, around the turn of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, included two important Templar brethren, Raimondo and Giacomo, both preceptors, one in Cabriolo and the other in Piacenza.⁴⁴ They were descendants of one of the leading families in the Piacenza commune, part of the local landed aristocracy and leaders of the Guelph faction.⁴⁵

Another Piacenza Templar was Pietro Caccia. He was probably a relative of Rogerio Caccia, canon and provost of San Giovanni de Viculo, who, at the end of the trial in Emilia, gave evidence on behalf of Giacomo Fontana and is identifiable as the *doctor legum* and papal chaplain.⁴⁶

There is little information on recruitment in Liguria. A reliable source, the Genoese annalist Iacopo Doria, tells us that two members of the house of the counts of Ventimiglia, Oberto and Pietro Balbo, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century, joined the Order.⁴⁷

So far we have looked at families who, whilst actively supporting the Temple, did not have members who were actually provincial dignitaries

⁴² Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo, arcivescovo di Ravenna (1303–1321) al tempo di Dante* (Florence, 1964), appendix, doc. 34, pp. 265–266; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 64.

⁴³ Meyer, *Die Function*, pp. 194–198; Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 223–224.

⁴⁴ Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^r; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304; Guarino, *Chronicon Placentinum ab anno MCCLXXXIX. ad annum MCCCXIII*, in *Chronica tria Placentina a Johanne Codagnello, ab anonymo et a Guerino conscripta*, ed. B. Pallastrelli (Parma, 1859), p. 382. See also below, Chapter V, pp. 186, 203.

⁴⁵ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, *ad indicem*; E. Nasalli Rocca, "Per la storia sociale del popolo italiano. Il consorzio gentilizio dei Fontanesi, signori di Val Tidone", *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi*, IV ser., 16 (1964), pp. 195–226; *Storia di Piacenza*, 6 vols. (Piacenza, 1980–2003), II, *Dal vescovo conte alla signoria (996–1313)*, *ad indicem*.

⁴⁶ Gerolamo Rossi, *Historiarum Ravennatum libri decem* (Venice, 1590), p. 525 ff.; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 305; *Carte*, I/2, docs. 289–290, pp. 441–446; R. Caravita, "La «purgazione» nel processo inquisitorio. Il caso dei Templari processati a Ravenna", in *Atti del XV Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1998), pp. 19–20, note 33.

⁴⁷ *I Libri iurium*, I, p. 91. Leone, the marquis of Gavi, was present at the writing of the letter of attorney of Bianco da Piazzano in 1267 to the master of the Templar house of Osiglia. Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 99–101.

of the Order. We will now consider the social standing of the Masters of Italy and Lombardy.

Roboaldo di Moncalvo, master of Italy in 1179,⁴⁸ was from a family linked to the Marquises of Montferrat and the commune of Asti. However, in the 1230s the lineage was no longer able to exercise its previously performed viscontal functions because of the rise of other local powers.⁴⁹

Giacomo de Boscho (1245)⁵⁰ was of noble descent and related to the previously mentioned Ponzone family.⁵¹ One of his relatives, also called Giacomo, was present at the admission of Guglielmo de Garent into the Order in the diocese of Parma in 1292.⁵² The Marquises of Bosco had seen their influence being gradually eroded by the growing power of the communal institutions. Their main adversary was the commune of Genoa. Their struggle, together with that of the Ponzone family, to keep control of the Ligurian thoroughfares was particularly hard and led to a crisis in resources in both families. They were forced to pledge part of their landed estates, and eventually even had to swear allegiance to the Genoese commune. The Ponzone family were also subject to pressure from the commune of Acqui, and the Bosco family likewise from the commune of Savona. Their power was already on the wane by the end of the twelfth century.⁵³ It should also be noted that the Bosco family had links with Outremer: the marquis Guglielmo was one of the barons present at Tyre with Conrad of Montferrat in 1190.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, doc. 15, p. 232.

⁴⁹ A.A. Settia, "Le famiglie viscontili di Monferrato", in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel Medioevo: marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secc. IX–XII) I*. Atti del I convegno di Pisa: 10–11 maggio 1983, Nuovi Studi Storici 1 (Rome, 1988), pp. 48–49.

⁵⁰ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87; Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 8, pp. 160–169; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 421–425.

⁵¹ Cf. Q. Sella, *Dal Codice d'Asti detto Malabayla. Memorie* (Rome, 1887), genealogical appendix; Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, tab. III; Provero, *Dai marchesi del Vasto*, pp. 86–107; R. Pavoni, "I marchesi del Bosco tra Genova e Alessandria", in P. Piana Toniolo, ed., *Terre e castelli dell'Alto Monferrato tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*. Atti del Convegno, Tagliolo Monferrato, 31 agosto 1996 (Ovada, 1997), pp. 3–58.

⁵² *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 91.

⁵³ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 287–289.

⁵⁴ *Documenti genovesi di Novi e Valle Scrivia*, ed. A. Ferretto, 2 vols., BSSS 51–52 (Pinerolo, 1909–1910), I, doc. 113, p. 115; *Liber privilegiorum Ecclesiae Ianuensis*, ed. D. Puncuh, *Fonti e studi di storia ecclesiastica 1* (Genoa, 1962), docs. 27–29, pp. 43–47.

A later provincial dignitary, Guglielmo da Bubbio (1254–1261),⁵⁵ was from a minor Piedmontese aristocratic family, linked to the Marquises del Carretto,⁵⁶ who were descendants of Bonifacio del Vasto. One of his successors, Artusio de Pocapalea (c. 1290–1291),⁵⁷ belonged to a family that had had dealings with the commune of Chieri and had been at odds with Testona and the lords of Bra since the beginning of the thirteenth century in the attempt to maintain their prerogatives.⁵⁸

The next provincial master, Guglielmo di Canelli,⁵⁹ was from a lineage that was well represented in the ranks of the Temple. Not only Guglielmo, but also Alberto and Albertino di Canelli had joined the Order. Alberto was attested to for the first time in the South of Italy in 1262, when King Manfred gave explicit orders that the *magister domorum milicie Templi in regno*, a relative of his called Alberto ‘de Canella’, should not be subject to hindrance or interference.⁶⁰ After Manfred’s death, he was probably sent away from the South and compelled to resume his career in his native lands. In 1268, at the Order’s chapter in Piacenza, he was mentioned as preceptor of the houses of Asti, Chieri, and San Martino in Villastellone.⁶¹ Three years later he was again present at a provincial chapter as head of the Asti house only.⁶² As had previously been the case with Guglielmo di Canelli, the Aragonese court had a hand in Alberto’s career. In 1279 Peter III of Aragon asked the Grand Master to allow this relative of Queen Constance to serve the Order in Aragon. According to Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele he was then sent to Spain.⁶³

Albertino di Canelli was admitted into the Order in the presence of his relatives Guglielmo, preceptor of Lombardy, and Ivano di Canelli,

⁵⁵ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109; Bini, “Dei Templieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 491.

⁵⁶ F. Guasco di Bisio, *Dizionario feudale degli antichi Stati Sardi e della Lombardia dall’epoca carolingia ai nostri tempi. 774–1909*, 5 vols., BSSS 54–58 (Pinerolo, 1911–1912), I, p. 323.

⁵⁷ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188–189, 201.

⁵⁸ *Appendice documentaria al Rigestum Comunis Albe*, ed. F. Gabotto, BSSS 22 (Pinerolo, 1912), doc. 34, pp. 28–32, doc. 40, pp. 37–38; Guasco di Bisio, *Dizionario*, III, pp. 209–210; *Le più antiche pergamene del comune di Moncalieri. Codice diplomatico del fondo pergameneo dell’archivio Storico I, Edizione in Cdrom*, eds. L. Patria, A. Pieri (s.l., s.d.), docs. 3a, 3b, 34d, 34e.

⁵⁹ See above, Chapter III, pp. 101–103.

⁶⁰ *Historia diplomatica Regni Siciliae inde ab anno 1250 ad annum 1266*, ed. B. Capasso (Naples, 1874), p. 216.

⁶¹ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri”, p. 48.

⁶² Here he is named Alberto de Camaldulla. Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri”, p. 52.

⁶³ Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 278.

perhaps the preceptor of the house of Alba, who was present at the chapters of 1268 and 1271.⁶⁴ Subsequently he is thought to have attended a provincial chapter presided over by Giacomo da Montecucco⁶⁵ and in 1305 he was referred to as *hostiarius* of Benedict XI.⁶⁶ He was probably also vicar of the preceptor of Lombardy⁶⁷ and, perhaps on Aragonese recommendation, he was invested as head of the Sicilian province of the Order.⁶⁸ While still part of the pope's retinue, he was arrested in 1307 and tried in France.⁶⁹

Until at least the end of the twelfth century the lords of Canelli, originally from the lower Belbo valley, were grouped together in a *consortile di castello*, centering around Canelli and Calamandrana. This kind of alliance, very common in mediaeval Piedmont, aimed to bring together all those who had shares in the ownership or related rights of a castle, in an attempt to unify the control and facilitate the effective handling of lordly rights. In 1217 many members of the alliance, being victims of the unstoppable fragmentation of their estates, ceded their possessions and rights to Asti and then took them back in fee.⁷⁰ The lords of Canelli-Calamandrana were also amongst the promoters of the *consortile* of Acquesana.⁷¹ This alliance, formed in 1203, brought together different groups of local lords for a short time. The members delegated their rights to three representatives called on to act on behalf of them all. This move was a response to the need for strong political representation in order to be able to enter into dialogue with the communes and powerful families in the area on an equal footing.⁷² The organisation only actually existed for a short time, but the name of the

⁶⁴ *Le procès*, II, pp. 424–425; Trota, “L’ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

⁶⁵ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 474.

⁶⁶ Tommasi, “L’ordine dei Templari a Perugia”, doc. 17, p. 60; Silvestrelli, “Le chiese”, p. 528.

⁶⁷ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 216–217.

⁶⁸ *Le procès*, II, p. 424. Sometimes the cognomen ‘de Canellis’ is misspelled. This can be the case for Ubertino de Cavelle, mentioned in the trial in Tuscany, who can be identifiable as Albertino di Canelli. Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 474. See also below, Chapter V, p. 198.

⁶⁹ *Le procès*, II, pp. 424–427.

⁷⁰ Barbero, “I signori di Canelli”, pp. 219–225.

⁷¹ G. Tabacco, “Le rapport de parenté comme instrument de domination consortiale: quelques exemples piémontais”, in G. Duby, J. Le Goff, eds., *Famille et parenté dans l’Occident médiéval*. Actes du colloque, Paris, 6–8 juin 1974, Collection de l’École française de Rome 30 (Rome, 1977), pp. 153–158; L. Provero, “Clientele e consortili intorno ai Lancia”, in Bordone, ed., *Bianca Lancia*, pp. 199–217.

⁷² Provero, “Clientele e consortili”, p. 211.

consortile of Aquesana lived on for the whole of the thirteenth century and became synonymous with the area in which the castles of the group of noblemen that formed the alliance were located.⁷³

In 1271 another person close to the Canellis and a member of the same *consortile*, Oberto di Calamandrana,⁷⁴ was head of the province of Lombardy. His appointment shows that, despite the setbacks suffered in the south of Italy in this period, the members of this lineage managed to consolidate their positions within the Temple. It should also be remembered that this lineage had links with Outremer: in 1168 Giacomo di Calamandrana was in Jubail, present at the granting of tax exemption to the Genoese by Ugo Embriaco, lord of the city.⁷⁵

The Montecucco family, too, had more than one of its members join the Temple. In fact, it was Giacomo da Montecucco, the last Templar master of Lombardy, who admitted his brother Nicola into the Order, later to be sent to Cyprus.⁷⁶ There was also another Templar official with the cognomen de Montecucco: Pietro, preceptor of the Modena and Bologna houses.⁷⁷ That Nicola joined the Order in Asti is a significant pointer to the fact that in all probability the first two Montecuccos came from Piedmont. It should also be remembered that the lords of what is now called Montecucco Torinese had had dealings with the Templars for some time, given that they had the *advocatia* of the church of San Martino in Villastellone since the thirteenth century.⁷⁸ The presence of a Fr. Giacomo da Montecucco, documented in Ivrea between the end of the thirteenth century and 1316, makes it even more likely that this dignitary was of Piedmontese origin.⁷⁹ What we do not know, though, is whether Pietro da Montecucco was actually a relative of the two brethren mentioned earlier or whether he just originated

⁷³ Provero, "Clientele e consortili", p. 213. Bianca Capone argued that the Templar master of the house of Vercelli in 1222, Giacomo de Mellacio, was from Melazzo, a castle located in this area. Capone, "Nuove ricerche", p. 74.

⁷⁴ *I registri della cancelleria*, VII, doc. 218, p. 250.

⁷⁵ *I Libri iurium*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 156.

⁷⁶ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 198–199, 341–343; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 125–127, 321–327.

⁷⁷ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 32, 45–46; Dondi, "Missale Vetus", pp. 347–355; Dondi, "Manoscritti liturgici", pp. 92, 96–97; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 326, p. 504.

⁷⁸ *Il «Libro delle investiture» di Goffredo Montanaro vescovo di Torino (1264–1294)*, ed. F. Gua-sco di Bisio, BSSS 67 (Pinerolo, 1913), doc. 54, pp. 187–189; *I protocolli di Tedisio vescovo di Torino*, ed. D.B. Fissore, BSSS 187 (Turin, 1969), p. XLV (the text incorrectly mentions 'San Martino di Strada').

⁷⁹ See below, Chapter V, pp. 204–206.

from a place named Montecucco in Emilia Romagna. This brother, as well as being master of the Templar house of Bologna, was the owner of some properties in the Emilia area, and this information, whilst not resolving the question totally, may strengthen the hypothesis that he was of Emilian origin.⁸⁰

The Montecucco family also went through a period of crisis at the end of the thirteenth century.⁸¹ In 1271 they swore allegiance to the commune of Chieri and then ceded their possessions and rights in places such as Montecucco, Cinzano, Vernone and Montebello to that commune, reacquiring them in fee. The various documents describing these transactions stress that in this case too the estates were by then severely fragmented because of hereditary divisions.⁸²

Moving on to the Emilia area we come across Goffredo Lupi (1244),⁸³ a member of the Lupi family of Parma, lords of Soragna.⁸⁴ This family, of noble stock, played an important role in Parma politics, and the recruitment of one of its members confirms that the Temple was able to spread its roots across a high level in Emilian society.⁸⁵ The Pigazzano family, too, responded positively to Templar recruitment efforts. The Pigazzanos, originally from the Trebbia valley, were quite important members of the ruling group of the commune of Piacenza⁸⁶ and entertained relations with the Fontanas and the Arcellis, both of whom were more or less directly linked to the Templar Order, and with Alberto Scotti.⁸⁷ The most important member of this family to don the Templar habit was Bianco da Pigazzano, whose career we have already looked at.⁸⁸ As well as in their native Piacenza, the Pigazzanos seem to have been very active in the Order's Milanese house as well, this too headed by Bianco. In 1291 Giacomo da Pigazzano was head of Santa Maria del

⁸⁰ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 43. Dondi ("Missale Vetus", p. 341) thinks that Pietro and Giacomo originated from the same place. The document edited in *Carte*, I/2, doc. 326, p. 504, doc. 370, p. 624 probably mentioned Petrus de Montecucco but now only the last syllable of this name can be read.

⁸¹ Guasco di Bisio, *Dizionario*, II, pp. 511–512.

⁸² *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 83, pp. 150–151, doc. 120, pp. 204–206, doc. 150, pp. 260–262, doc. 155, pp. 267–268, docs. 159–160, pp. 272–275, docs. 167–169, pp. 287–291, docs. 172–175, pp. 295–302.

⁸³ Campi, *Dell'Historia ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

⁸⁴ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronica*, p. 512.

⁸⁵ Greci, "Prime presenze", p. 414; Greci, "Salimbene", pp. 117–132.

⁸⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, pp. 62, 358, 351, III, pp. 9, 27, 38.

⁸⁷ See below, Chapter V and Part II, pp. 176, 268 ff.

⁸⁸ See above, Chapter III, pp. 98–100.

Tempio in Milan. In June 1300, in this capacity, he received a letter of attorney bearing the *baylie lombardie* seal of Uguccone di Vercelli. Four years later Giacomo was still in charge of the Milan house.⁸⁹ In 1308 another member of his family, Umberto da Pigazzano, held this role.⁹⁰ This family thus seems to have been sufficiently influential in the Temple to keep control of one of its important convents for quite some time. The scale of this lineage's participation in the Temple becomes clearer if one considers that no less than four of the Templars from Piacenza (Mauro, Giacomo, Alberto and Guglielmo) subject to a compurgation at the end of the trial belonged to this family.⁹¹ Furthermore, Mauro can be identified as Mauro or Moro da Pigazzano or da Piacenza, preceptor of Pavia and Casei Gerola in 1285. Later on he probably was the lieutenant of Giacomo da Montecucco and preceptor *in Roma et Terra Rome*.⁹²

The above cases highlight the fact that joining the Temple had become an important factor for a number of families. In actual fact, admission into a religious order was usually a good solution for those younger sons to whom the families did not want to bequest part of their heritage and further diminish the size of the family estate.⁹³ At the same time, the fact that a relative had already served in that order and perhaps reached quite a high position could have been an incentive for joining it. With internal support to count on, a young man entering the Temple could also hope to find a situation in line with his expectations.⁹⁴ This, for example, may have been the case for Antonio,⁹⁵ nephew of the provincial master Uguccone di Vercelli, admitted into the Order in the East, and Nicola da Montecucco,⁹⁶ brother of the

⁸⁹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 29th of September 1291, *Miscellanea materiale restaurato*, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", docs. 4, 6, p. 218.

⁹⁰ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, *Miscellanea materiale restaurato*, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 7, pp. 218–219.

⁹¹ See below, Chapter V, pp. 194–195.

⁹² *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 132, 133, 202, 203, 207.

⁹³ B. Bligny, "Monachisme et pauvreté au XII^e siècle" in *La povertà del secolo XII e Francesco d'Assisi*. Atti del Secondo Convegno di Studi francescani, Assisi, 17–19 ottobre 1974 (Assisi, 1975), pp. 109–111.

⁹⁴ A. Barbero, "Motivazioni religiose e motivazioni utilitarie nel reclutamento degli ordini monastico-cavallereschi", in *Militia Christi' e Crociata*, p. 723.

⁹⁵ *Le procès*, I, p. 562.

⁹⁶ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 198–199, 341–343; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 125–127, 321–327.

provincial master Giacomo. The high-ranking posts attained by several members of the Canelli and da Pigazzano families further confirm that admission into the Temple could be a suitable choice for noble cadets.⁹⁷

Besides, in the course of the thirteenth century, the above families were going through a difficult period of transition. The divisions of family estates multiplied with each generation and the growing ascendancy of the communes was affecting their influence at both patrimonial and political level. A number of members of these lineages, especially from the lower and middle-ranking nobility, seem to have sought a possible way out by joining the Military Orders. Often the houses assigned to these dignitaries were in their old domains.⁹⁸ Holding positions of authority gave these individuals the chance to regain the former privileges and esteem of the lost heritage of their families.

A case in point is that of the Canellis who managed to seize the favourable situation created by the succession to the throne of King Manfred, a relative of theirs, and then were under the patronage of the Aragonese sovereigns. Their position in an order with pro-Angevin tendencies was not always easy, but they did succeed in entertaining positive relations with the papal court and perpetuating their presence in the upper ranks of the Templar command hierarchy. The Canellis' decision to enter the Order, however, was neither unusual nor new. The Bubbio family, from the same area, had already embarked on the same path. Several members of the Canelli-Calamandrana *consortile*, moreover, joined the Hospitallers.⁹⁹

Other major local noble families, conversely, had poorly attested or uncertain relationships with the Temple. As regards the Savoy family, Amadeus III (d. 1148) had taken part in the Second Crusade and, during his time in the Holy Land was sure to have come into contact with the Templars. However, he died during the expedition¹⁰⁰ and his heirs were more active in the Byzantine East than in the Holy Land.¹⁰¹ We do not know the date of Humbert III of Savoy's (d. 1189) ratification of the donation made by his father Amadeus III to the monastery of Le Bourget. What is interesting, though, is that one of the witnesses

⁹⁷ For nepotism in Military Orders see Josserand, *Église*, pp. 411–419. Unfortunately, the scantiness of primary sources prevents us from doing a more detailed examination of this phenomenon in North-west Italy.

⁹⁸ The same applies to the Hospital. Bordone, “I cavalieri”, p. 366.

⁹⁹ See below, p. 157.

¹⁰⁰ *Regesta Comitum Sabaudie*, doc. 297, p. 107.

¹⁰¹ Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 177–232.

to this deed was the Templar Ugo Berardo, to whom we shall return later on.¹⁰² The claim that Humbert III of Savoy donated the house of Santa Maria in Susa to the Temple in 1170 is mistaken, as this donation was made to the provostship of Oulx.¹⁰³ Another error is the belief that *Fredericus, frater tunc comitis de Savoya, tunc preceptor in Alamania*, as mentioned in a trial deposition, was a member of this family.¹⁰⁴ He can actually be identified as Fridericus Silvester, preceptor of Germany and *Sclavia* at the turn of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁵ A deed of Amadeus IV of Savoy (d. 1253), dated 1243, was drafted in the Templar house of Chambéry,¹⁰⁶ and a year later Thomas II (d. 1259) endorsed a donation to the Temple.¹⁰⁷ There were further contacts between Thomas and the Templars in 1248, when Henry III of England had a debt incurred by the Savoys repaid to the Temple of London.¹⁰⁸ The Templars of Turin, together with members of other orders in the city, were present at the bishop of Rochester's arbitration of the dispute between Thomas II and the bishop of Turin, which took place in July 1251.¹⁰⁹ The arbiters who had to decide on a quarrel between Amadeus V (d. 1323) and Louis of Savoy (d. 1302) were lodged in the Templar headquarters in Lyons in 1285–1286.¹¹⁰ In 1295 Sybilla of Bagé, wife of Amadeus V, left a bequest to the Templar house of La Musse.¹¹¹ Thus, although a number of documents make reference to the relations between this family and the Temple, we have no actual direct mention of a significant favour granted by the Savoys to the Order.

Also poorly documented are the relations between the Temple and the Montferrat family, the Piedmont lineage with the strongest links

¹⁰² *Regesta Comitum Sabaudie*, doc. 305, p. 112.

¹⁰³ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 127; *Le carte della provostura di Oulx raccolte e riordinate cronologicamente fino al 1300*, ed. G. Collino, BSSS 45 (Pinerolo, 1908), doc. 157, p. 162.

¹⁰⁴ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁵ Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 374–375; M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 2006), p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ Ferrero di Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ L. Daillez, *Les Templiers et les règles de l'ordre du Temple* (Paris, 1972), pp. 91–92.

¹⁰⁸ L. Delisle, *Mémoires sur les opérations financières des templiers* (Paris, 1889), p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ *Documenti inediti e sparsi sulla storia di Torino*, ed. F. Cognasso, BSSS 65 (Pinerolo, 1914), doc. 204, pp. 208–209; Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 758–760.

¹¹⁰ F. Cognasso, *I Savoia* (Turin, 1971), pp. 101–104. In the trial in Paris some hearings took place in the *domus comitis Sabaudie*, i.e. the residence of Peter of Savoy, bishop of Lyons. *Le procès*, I, pp. 118, 187, II, *ad indicem*.

¹¹¹ L. Imperio, “Templari e conti di Savoia: una dubbia alleanza”, in *Atti del XIV Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1997), p. 110 (Edward of Bagé visited this Templar house in 1311).

with the East. After taking part in the Second Crusade of William V (William the Elder), William's son, William Longsword, married princess Sybilla, who was the heiress to the throne because her brother, King Balwin IV, was a leper and could not have any direct heirs. William's untimely death (1177) did not mark the end of the ambitious policies of the Montferrat family, active in the Holy Land thanks to the presence of William the Elder, who had come to defend the interests of his nephew, Baldwin V, son of Longsword and heir to the throne. The Montferrat family's interests in the East were not limited to the kingdom of Jerusalem alone. William's brother, Renier (d.1183), had married the Byzantine princess Maria and had been joined in Constantinople by his brother Conrad. Conrad's ambitions, however, were fulfilled in Palestine. In 1187 Conrad left Byzantium and went to Acre, where he learnt of Saladin's conquests. Moving to Tyre, he became leader of the Christian resistance there. In 1190 he married princess Isabella, Sybilla's half-sister, and successfully contended with Guy of Lusignan, the second husband of Sybilla (Baldwin V had died some time earlier) for the throne. However, Conrad's reign was short. In 1192 he was murdered in a street in Acre by two killers from the Assassins sect. His daughter, Maria of Montferrat, was the sole heir to the throne.¹¹²

Equally renowned are the immense efforts made by Boniface I of Montferrat (d. 1207) in the organisation and leadership of the Fourth Crusade, which earned him the kingdom of Thessalonika.¹¹³

¹¹² For the Montferrats see L. Usseglio, *I marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente durante i secoli XII e XIII*, ed. C. Patrucco, 2 vols., BSSS 100–101 (Turin, 1929); W. Haberstumpf, *Regesto dei Marchesi di Monferrato di stirpe aleramica e paleologa per l'«Outremer» e l'Oriente*, BSSS 205 (Turin, 1989); Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 77–88; D. Jacoby, “Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192)”, in L. Balletto, ed., *Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli oceani*. Atti del congresso internazionale, Alessandria, 2–6 aprile 1990 (Alessandria, 1993), pp. 187–238, reprinted in Jacoby, *Trade*, essay IV; A.A. Settia, “«Postquam ipse marchio levabit crucem». Guglielmo V di Monferrato e il suo ritorno in Palestina (1186)”, in Soldi Rondini, ed., *Il Monferrato*, pp. 93–110; G. Ligato, “Guglielmo Lungaspada di Monferrato e le istituzioni politiche dell'Oriente latino” in Balletto, ed., *Dai feudi monferrini*, pp. 153–185; G. Ligato, “Corrado di Monferrato e la corte di Saladino: il punto di vista islamico”, in Soldi Rondini, ed., *Il Monferrato*, pp. 111–140; Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 106–133; Demurger, *Vie et mort*, pp. 183–184; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 109 ff.

¹¹³ Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 89–152; Haberstumpf, “Due vocazioni dinastiche del marchesato di Monferrato: costruzione territoriale e spinta oltremarina”, in Balletto, ed., *Dai feudi monferrini*, pp. 239–248; Lock, *The Franks*, pp. 57–60; M. Gallina, “Fra Occidente e Oriente: la «crociata» aleramica per Tessalonica”, in *Piemonte medievale. Forme del potere e della società. Studi per Giovanni Tabacco* (Turin, 1985), pp. 65–83.

Notwithstanding the close links between the Montferrat dynasty and the Crusades,¹¹⁴ the documents attesting to their direct relationship with the Temple in their homeland are few. In 1194 Boniface I of Montferrat ruled in his will that his revenue from Montebello should go to the Templars.¹¹⁵ In 1226 Boniface II (d.1253) was requested by the commune of Asti to swear allegiance to the commune itself with regard to the fief of Calliano. Asti's request was issued *in posse Crixani de subtus mansionem Templi*.¹¹⁶ In the following year Boniface ratified an alliance with the same commune *in ayralio sante Marie mansionis Templi*.¹¹⁷ Both documents concern the marquis of Montferrat but the fact that they were drafted in Templar buildings shows primarily that the Order had good relations with Asti rather than Boniface. In the *Annales de Terre Sainte* mention is made of a certain William of Montferrat, preceptor of the Temple in Antioch in 1248. The entry, however, is erroneous and the person in question was actually William of Monferrand, also mentioned in another source.¹¹⁸

In a relationship that was very different to that with the Templars, the Montferrat family actively supported the establishment and development of some Hospitaller houses in Piedmont during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹⁹ This preference was evident even before the Montferrats definitely extended their interests to the East and it is thus difficult to attribute the cause of this attitude to the fact that the Templars often took different political positions to the Montferrats in the East.¹²⁰ Besides, as regards Conrad's candidature for the throne, for example, the Hospitallers' conduct was somewhat ambiguous.¹²¹ Per-

¹¹⁴ Lock argues that Barozio, the master of Lombardy, was a member of the entourage of Boniface I during the Fourth Crusade. In Romania further connections between the Temple and some Lombard lords, including Boniface, emerge in documents issued after the death of the Marquis. See above, Chapter III, pp. 92–93.

¹¹⁵ C.F. Savio, *Studi storici sul marchese Guglielmo III del Monferrato e i suoi figli* (Turin, 1885), p. 171; M. Renaldi, *Le più antiche carte dell'abbazia di Santa Maria di Lucedio e il loro significato patrimoniale*, unpublished tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Torino, academic year 1971–1972, pp. 147–148.

¹¹⁶ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 742, p. 793.

¹¹⁷ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 915, p. 1038.

¹¹⁸ *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed. R. Röhrich, AOL, 2 (1884), p. 439; Matthew Paris, *Chronica*, III, p. 405.

¹¹⁹ Bordone, "San Pietro", pp. 46–49; R. Bordone, "I marchesi di Monferrato e i cavalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme durante il XII secolo", in Soldi Rondinini, ed., *Il Monferrato*, pp. 73–87.

¹²⁰ Demurger, *Vie et mort*, pp. 183–184; Haberstumpf, *Dinastie*, pp. 78, 85.

¹²¹ Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, p. 116.

haps the Montferrats' preference for this institution dated from the time of the Second Crusade, when William V had the opportunity to become acquainted with both Military Orders. The special connection between this lineage and the Hospital is further confirmed by the fact that William Longsword was buried in Jerusalem *in vestibolo ecclesie Hospitalis*.¹²²

There were few contacts between the Temple and the Marquises of Busca, descendents of Bonifacio del Vasto, already superseded locally in the twelfth century by the Saluzzo family, also descended from the same lineage.¹²³ Like the Biandrates, perhaps the Busca family also made a donation to the Temple in the Murello district, where a house of the Order was to be developed later. The donation document has not been traced and the only information we have is as reported by Francesco Guasco di Bisio.¹²⁴ In July 1196, *in domo militie Templi de Busca*, it seems that an agreement was reached between the local commune and the marquis Berengario di Busca. Amongst the witnesses to the deed were the Templars Poncio, Uberto and Antonio.¹²⁵ Given the relations between Amedeo di Ponziglione, the first scholar to cite this deed, and the known forger Francesco Giuseppe Meyranesio, the authenticity of this document has been questioned. The fact that the original is missing and Ponziglione published only a partial transcription make it impossible to vouch for the reliability of this evidence.

Historiography has also made reference to possible contacts between the Temple and the Marquises of Saluzzo, culminating in the appointment of a member of the family as provincial master.¹²⁶ Amedeo Ponziglione's transcription of the deed attesting the sale of the Templar possessions in Gorra to the commune of Chieri states that Aimerico de Saluciis presided over the provincial chapter of the Order in 1203.¹²⁷ A more recent and reliable transcription of this document, though, proposed by Ferdinando Gabotto, expands the words 'de Sal', i.e. the abbreviated cognomen of this dignitary, as 'de Saliis'.¹²⁸ The only deed currently available that refers to relations between the Temple and the

¹²² William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, II, p. 978.

¹²³ Provero, *Dai marchesi del Vasto*, pp. 86–107.

¹²⁴ Guasco di Bisio, *Dizionario*, III, p. 73.

¹²⁵ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 114.

¹²⁶ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 36; Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 221.

¹²⁷ Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 5, p. 156.

¹²⁸ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, p. 85.

Saluzzo family is that of the previously mentioned sale of Racconigi,¹²⁹ which suggests that the relationship between the Order and this family was simply one of acquaintance.

It appears certain that at least one member of the noble Berardi family from the Val di Susa joined the Temple. This person was Ugo Berardo, mentioned as a witness to a deed drawn up at the behest of Humbert III of Savoy to confirm a donation made by his father, Amadeus.¹³⁰ It has been suggested that the Templar Grand Master Thomas Bérard was descended from the same family.¹³¹ Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele has argued that Thomas Bérard may have been of English or Italian descent.¹³² The Berardi family, well documented in the Susa valley in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had frequent relations both with local church organisations and the Savoys,¹³³ but there is no specific evidence to suggest that one of their members may have been a Templar dignitary.

The Order thus enjoyed widespread favour amongst the aristocracy of North-west Italy, both with the older noble families and those that came to the fore during the communal period. The network of relationships woven by the Templars, which can sometimes only be guessed at because of the lack of documentation, involved both those families that had more or less important contacts with Outremer and those active at an exclusively local level. A wide variety of reasons induced some members of these lineages to join an institution such as the Temple, but the main one of these was probably its ability to guarantee its dignitaries a certain degree of control over land, a prerogative that these families, be they ascendant or in crisis, looked on very favourably. In Piedmont this seems to especially be the case for those families which, while experiencing an irreparable decline, were looking for a way to regain their former status.

¹²⁹ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 430, p. 342.

¹³⁰ *Regesta Comitum Sabaudie*, doc. 305, p. 112.

¹³¹ L. Imperio, "Thomas Bérard, maestro generale del Tempio", in *Atti del XV Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1998), pp. 71–84.

¹³² Bust-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 232 ff.

¹³³ *Le carte della provostura di Oulx*, docs. 123–124, p. 127, doc. 131, p. 136, doc. 141, p. 147.

2. *Relations with church institutions*

In North-west Italy the Temple also had wide-ranging dealings with church hierarchies and other religious orders. As for relations with the episcopate, the positive response of some bishops to the Templar presence is borne out by the number of hospitals assigned to the Order, as noted previously in these pages. We have also looked at several important disputes that arose between Templars and local bishops.¹³⁴ Both of these factors must be considered in the light of the Order's exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. The Templars were invested with apostolic protection from the issuing of the *Omne datum optimum* of 1139, which subjected the Order to direct papal authority and gave it the special privileges inherent in being beyond the sphere of diocesan control, in both jurisdictional and fiscal terms. These privileges became more and more precisely specified during the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and were eventually extended to cover the entire area in which the bishops would have been able to impose their prerogatives.¹³⁵

A link between Temple and episcopate may have been formed with the assigning of churches or hospitals. These assignments implied the creation of a subordinate relationship, albeit generally of a fiscal nature only, with the assigning bishop. The Templars continued to be exempt, but at the same time were bound by the bishop to carry out maintenance and repair work on the premises assigned to them and to pay an annuity for the investiture. The payments that the Templars had to make at the houses of Chieri, Pavia, Piacenza, Tortona and Testona are a sign of this subordinate relationship. The church of San Leonardo was probably assigned to the Temple by the bishop of Turin and the payment of an annuity, that was still being paid by the Knights of St. John when they took possession of the Templar house after the Order's demise, would seem to confirm this relationship.¹³⁶ In the episcopal

¹³⁴ See above, Chapters I and II, pp. 27–29, 69–72.

¹³⁵ Cf. L. Garcia-Guijarro Ramos, "Exemption in the Temple, the Hospital and the Teutonic Order: Shortcomings of the Institutional Approach", in Nicholson, ed., *The Military Orders II*, pp. 289–293; P. Vial, "La Papauté, l'exemption et l'ordre du Temple", in P. Guichard, M.T. Lorcin, J.-M. Poisson, M. Rubelin, eds., *Papauté, Monastichisme et Theories politiques. Le pouvoir e l'institution ecclésiiale. Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Marcel Pacaut*, 2 vols. (Lyon, 1994), I, *Le pouvoir e l'institution ecclésiiale*, pp. 173–180.

¹³⁶ G. Casiraghi, *La diocesi di Torino nel Medioevo*, BSSS 196 (Turin, 1979), p. 160, note 226.

archive in Pavia, there are records of a number of payments made by the Templars for the hospital of Sant'Eustachio.¹³⁷ In Tortona, too, the Templars had to pay an annuity for the hospital of San Giacomo. What is interesting in this case is that the bishop requested that the Templars observe all the episcopal orders in the event of excommunication or interdiction, thus partly getting round one of the Order's privileges that allowed it to celebrate the divine office once a year in cities subject to interdiction.¹³⁸ In Piacenza the acquisition of the hospital of Sant'Egidio involved the payment of a periodic rental, later to be substituted by the transfer to the local bishop of a number of rentals payable to the Order.¹³⁹ It seems that even the appointment of the ruler of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia was subject to the bishop's approval.¹⁴⁰ It was only in Testona that the Temple did not pay an annuity for the hospital and chapel of Sant'Egidio, which had been donated to the Order, but they did pay rent for having the bridge next to the house.¹⁴¹

These investitures also served the purpose of keeping these hospital under ecclesiastical control and may have acted as a restraint on the efforts of the local communes to interfere with the running of them.¹⁴²

An important example of continuous and positive relations between the Templars and local bishops can actually be found in Turin. In all probability it was Carlo, bishop of Turin from 1147 to 1169, who granted the Templars the church of San Leonardo in Chieri.¹⁴³ We know for certain that the assignment of the hospital of Sant'Egidio in Testona occurred during the bishopric of Arduino di Valperga (1121–1147). With this act the bishop showed that he held the Temple in high regard and at the same time protected his interests by keeping an important transit point under the control of an organisation of his

¹³⁷ Pavia, Archivio Vescovile, Archivio Mensa vescovile, no. 281, 26th of January 1294, no. 282, 6th of February 1295, no. 293, 14th of December 1305.

¹³⁸ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, p. 209. A similar case is examined in Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, p. 463.

¹³⁹ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

¹⁴⁰ In the deed announcing the appointment of Raimondo Fontana as rector of Sant'Egidio, reference is made to the *invocata episcopi gratia*. Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^r.

¹⁴¹ *Le carte dell'archivio vescovile di Torino*, doc. 96, p. 96.

¹⁴² See above, Chapter II, p. 72.

¹⁴³ For Carlo see G. Sergi, *L'aristocrazia della preghiera. Politica e scelte religiose nel medioevo italiano* (Rome, 1994), pp. 185–188.

choice.¹⁴⁴ Continuous positive relations between the Temple and Turin prelates is further borne out by the fact that a deed of sale stipulated between the Templars and the canons of Santa Maria, who previously officiated at San Leonardo, was drawn up in the bishop's palace in Turin,¹⁴⁵ as was the deed for the sale of the Templar possessions in San Martino in Gorra.¹⁴⁶

In 1208, again at the bishop's palace in Turin, two Templars, Oberto di Acqui and Ogerio, were present at the drafting of a deed in which the Knights of St. John and the provost of the canons of Oulx referred a dispute over the St. John's hospice in Chiomonte to Giacomo di Carisio, bishop of Turin, for arbitration.¹⁴⁷ Their presence on this occasion not only confirms the continuity of relations between the Templars and the local prelate but also suggests the existence of possible links with other church bodies in the area. In 1267 Pagano, Templar *canaverius*, was witness to a deed of sale to San Solutore, a monastery closely connected to the bishops of Turin.¹⁴⁸ In 1287 Guglielmo, preceptor of the house of Moncalieri, Andrea di Testona, its priest, and Rosso, *frater* of the *domus*, appeared in another deed of San Solutore.¹⁴⁹

Documentary evidence of further relations between the Templars and local prelates is scarce, but quite significant. Alberto, bishop of Vercelli, was present when some lands were purchased by the Vercelli Templars and thus had direct acquaintance of the Order before becoming patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰ In Cremona Siccard, a figure who

¹⁴⁴ For an outline of the relations between the bishops of Turin, Testona and Chieri see C. La Rocca, *Da Testona a Moncalieri. Vicende del popolamento sulla collina torinese nel Medioevo*, BSSS 192 (Turin, 1986), pp. 153–164; M. Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi nuovi nel Piemonte medievale. Due fondazioni chieresi del secolo XIII: Villastellone e Pecetto*, BSSS 208 (Turin, 1991), pp. 13–16.

¹⁴⁵ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, pp. XXII–XXIII.

¹⁴⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, p. 80, doc. 46, p. 83.

¹⁴⁷ *Le carte della prevostura di Oulx*, doc. 234, pp. 233–234; P.C. Pazé, “Lungo la strada di Provenza: i Gerosolimitani a Chiomonte”, in P.L. Patria, P. Tamburino, eds., *Esperienze monastiche nella Val di Susa medievale*. Atti del XXXIV Convegno Storico Subalpino (Susa, 1989), p. 53.

¹⁴⁸ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 118, p. 196.

¹⁴⁹ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 169, p. 227.

¹⁵⁰ It also appears that in this period San Giacomo d'Albareto was raised to the level of parish church. Mandelli, *Il comune*, III, p. 134. For Alberto see L. Gulli, “Alberto da Vercelli”, DBI 1 (Rome, 1960), pp. 750–751; L. Minghetti, “L'episcopato di Alberto durante i primi anni del secolo XIII”, in *Vercelli nel secolo XIII*. Atti del primo convegno storico vercellese, Vercelli, 2–3 ottobre 1982 (Vercelli, 1984), pp. 99–112; L. Minghetti, “Alberto vescovo di Vercelli (1185–1205). Contributo per una biografia”, *Aevum*, 59 (1985), pp. 267–304; L. Minghetti, “L'episcopato vercellese dall'età del confronto tra

also had significant links with the Latin East, looked on the spiritual activities of the Templars in a favourable light and entrusted the local Templar church with the cure of souls.¹⁵¹ In Piacenza the Temple had a special connection to the bishop Filippo Fulgosio (1257–1294). In 1272 and 1276 he sided with the Templars in two disputes over some legacies claimed by the Military Order and under his episcopate the Temple was also entrusted with the running of the hospital of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia.¹⁵² Moreover, the fact that the provost of Santa Brigida in Piacenza supported the Temple in the 1272 quarrel, and the presence of local clerics amongst the people who gave evidence in favour of the Templars in the Piacenza inquiry, both further underline the positive relations that the Military Order enjoyed with local ecclesiastical bodies.¹⁵³

In 1257, in Ventimiglia, the Templar Raimondo Galliana was brought before the local bishop, Azzone, because he was suspected of having mistreated a servant of the garrison of the *castrum Roche* in Ventimiglia. Before the bishop Raimondo refused to be subject to the judgment of the communal authorities and the bishop did not want to take him into custody. In this case the clash between the bishop and the civil authorities, who wanted to try the Templar, may have been complicated by the jurisdictional privileges of the Temple. Unfortunately, though, we do not know how the case was resolved.¹⁵⁴

In a number of cases the pastoral work done by the Temple and the privileges it enjoyed were a source of friction with bishops, the secular clergy and other orders. The surviving primary sources do not provide any specific information about the cure of souls performed by the Templars. In Cremona the Templar engagement in pastoral function was probably solicited by the local faithful and then supported by

papato e impero all'affermazione del primato innocenziano: i vescovi Ugucione, Gualla e Alberto (1151–1214)”, *Bollettino Storico Vercellese*, 53 (1999), pp. 75–106; V. Mosca, *Alberto patriarca di Gerusalemme. Tempo, vita e opere* (Rome, 1996); Alberzoni, *Città, ad indicem*.

¹⁵¹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 99–100.

¹⁵² Ronchetti, *Memorie*, III, pp. 318–319; Bellomo, “Una mansione”, pp. 186–187, doc. 5, pp. 201–202; Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318). It is also worth remembering that Cardinal Pietro Diani, who witnessed the investiture of Sant'Egidio in Testona to the Templars, was from Piacenza.

¹⁵³ See below, Charter V, p. 195.

¹⁵⁴ *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni de Amaldulesio dal 1256 al 1258*, ed. L. Balletto (Bordighera, 1993), doc. 68, pp. 67–69; A.M. Boldrini, “Ventimiglia nel Duecento: il vescovo Azzo Visconti”, in *Momenti di storia e arte religiosa*, pp. 101–102.

the bishop. In this case Siccard wisely decided to preserve the official parochial functions of the nearby Ognissanti monastery, thus avoiding any conflict. In other places the attempts to extend these functions beyond their accepted limits caused several clashes between the Military Order and local ecclesiastical institutions. This was the case in Acqui (1186), Alba (1217) and Fiorenzuola (1211–1214). In Acqui, Urban III ordered the Templars and Hospitallers *in Aquensi urbe vel suburbio* to stop performing parochial functions, especially *in poenitentis publicis et exequiis defunctorum*, towards the faithful subject to the cure of souls by other institutions.¹⁵⁵ In Alba the cathedral chapter requested that Honorius III took measures against a priest from Santa Maria del Tempio, and other presbyters, who admitted *sponsas vel paiolatas levantes de partu vel surgentes* to the mass and blessed pilgrims' purses.¹⁵⁶ No judgement was made in the case. Some residents of Fiorenzuola asked Innocent III's permission to attend divine office in the *paupercola ecclesia Templi*, appealing against a prohibition ordered by Tedaldo, archpriest of the church of San Fiorenzo, who was responsible for the cure of souls in the district.¹⁵⁷ Three years later the men of Fiorenzuola were granted the possibility of being buried in the church of Santa Margherita del Tempio.¹⁵⁸ In these cases the pastoral functions performed by the Templars were clearly approved of by their followers, but encountered resistance from the church bodies in charge of the cure of souls, who feared losing their congregation and, consequently, their revenues.

At the same time, another thorny question seemed to revolve around the Templars collecting tithes and deducting their dues from will legacies left to charitable causes or the Holy Land, or from the commutation of crusade vows or repayments from usury, causing disputes to arise in Piacenza, Bergamo and Mondovì. In 1228 Folco, bishop of Pavia, was asked to settle a dispute between the priest of the church of Sarmato, the Piacenza Templars and some laymen over the collection of tithes. Unfortunately, all we know of this dispute is the priest's allegation of damages against the Templars and the laymen, amongst whom there was a certain Pietro Bonaio from Piacenza. Folco had to summon the parties to appear before him repeatedly and the Templars

¹⁵⁵ *Monumenta Aquensia*, I, doc. 66, col. 84.

¹⁵⁶ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 139; Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 54; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 373–374.

¹⁵⁷ "Le pergamene ritrovate", pp. 85–86.

¹⁵⁸ "Le pergamene ritrovate", pp. 87–89. For similar cases see Carraz, *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 326–327, 463–464, 466–467.

had not yet appeared in response to the second summons. We do not know how this dispute ended.¹⁵⁹

In Bergamo, in 1272, the first in a series of disputes arose over the collection of Templar dues from will legacies, as described above. Of this, we know that the Military Order was reprimanded by Gregory X for its conduct. The Templars had claimed part of the sum that bishop Guala da Brescia (1168–1186) had ordered to be donated to charity on the anniversary of his death. The provost of Santa Brigida in Piacenza agreed with them and, on his request, the bishop of Piacenza, Filippo, ordered the provost of the church of Bergamo to designate this money to the Temple. As mentioned earlier, though, the claims of the Military Order were not accepted by the pope.¹⁶⁰ Between 1276 and 1278 another dispute arose over the collection of the will legacy of a certain Guglielmo Mellius. In this case the Temple met with the opposition of the testator's heirs, who were excommunicated for not having appeared before Filippo, the bishop of Piacenza, who was to settle the dispute.¹⁶¹ Two years later one of Guglielmo's heirs regularised her position.¹⁶² In 1283 there was a papal condemnation of the claims advanced by the Templars on a number of will legacies, opposed by the Friars Minor of Mondovì.¹⁶³

The use of local resources was another possible source of conflict. In 1253, in Piacenza, the Templars were involved in a dispute with their neighbours, the Dominicans of San Giovanni in Canale, over the use of local water courses. In the settlement it was stated that the limit to the two churches' jurisdiction was to be marked by three small stone columns surmounted by a cross.¹⁶⁴

The only dispute over the ownership of a house took place in *Calventia*, between the bishop of Tortona and the Templar Master of Lombardy, as attested to in a document from 1200. In his judgement Innocent III censured the Templar Master for having occupied the house without the bishop's permission, but later on the pope protested

¹⁵⁹ *Documenti degli archivi tortonesi relativi alla storia di Voghera, aggiuntevi le carte dell'Archivio della Cattedrale di Voghera*, ed. V. Legé, F. Gabotto, BSSS 39 (Pinerolo, 1908), docs. 97–100, pp. 254–257.

¹⁶⁰ Ronchetti, *Memorie*, III, pp. 318–319; Bellomo, “Una mansione”, pp. 186–187.

¹⁶¹ Bellomo, “Una mansione”, doc. 5, pp. 201–202.

¹⁶² Bellomo, “Una mansione”, doc. 6, pp. 202–204.

¹⁶³ Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 9, pp. 169–170; Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia. La Lombardia*, I/2, p. 110; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 516–517.

¹⁶⁴ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 25th of September 1253.

because *mobilia et immobilia iura* of the house had not been returned to the Templars.¹⁶⁵ These questions seem to be fully resolved in 1252 when the local prelate assigned the hospital of San Giacomo in Tortona to the Temple.¹⁶⁶

It is difficult to ascertain what relations were like between the Templars and neighbouring churches and monasteries belonging to other orders. Several of the deeds of the chartreuse of Losa and Monte Benedetto, for example, were drafted in Susa, *in Templo*, in the presence of some Templars,¹⁶⁷ but the sources provide no further information on the interactions between the two orders.

It appears that relations between the Temple and the Cistercian Order and the Hospital were more significant. A number of factors point to the gradual development of an air of cooperation between these two organisations. The fact that a document attesting a donation to the Cistercian monastery of Chiaravalle, founded by St. Bernard, was drawn up in the Templar house of Milan in 1142 seems to suggest the existence of relations between the two bodies from an early date. A twelfth century martyrology of the Cistercian abbey of Acquafredda names the Templars as brothers of the Order.¹⁶⁸ The *fraternitas* between the *milites de Templo* and the Cistercians¹⁶⁹ is linked to the figure of Bernard, *specialis patronus* of the new Military Order, and the role played by the saint in encouraging it was not unknown to the Templar Italian brethren. During the trial in Tuscany Giacomo da Pigazzano recalled that he had been admitted into the Order according to the rule *tradita a beato Bernardo*.¹⁷⁰

The signatures of Templar witnesses in the cartularies of Cistercian abbeys in North-west Italy are numerous. In 1216 in the Templar house of Turin, in the presence of the preceptor Guido di Trana, a deed was

¹⁶⁵ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, l. II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12); *Vetera monumenta Slavorum*, I, p. 61, no. 190.

¹⁶⁶ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, p. 209. For patrimonial controversies between the Temple and other religious orders in France see J.-M. Carbasse, "Les commanderies: aspects juridiques et institutionnels", in Luttrell, Pressouyre, eds., *La Commandarie*, pp. 24–26.

¹⁶⁷ *Cartario della certosa di Losa e Monte Benedetto dal 1189 al 1252*, ed. M. Bosco, BSSS 195 (Turin, 1974), doc. 79, pp. 103–104, doc. 181, p. 217, doc. 186, pp. 222–223.

¹⁶⁸ J. Wollasch, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte der Cistercienser", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 84 (1973), pp. 190–193; F. Münter, *Statutenbuch des Ordens der Tempelherren*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1794), I, p. 460; Tommasi, "Per i rapporti", pp. 252–253.

¹⁶⁹ Tommasi, "Per i rapporti", p. 252.

¹⁷⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 499.

issued regarding the monastery of Staffarda, represented by two of its monks. Listed amongst the witnesses were the Templar brother Oberto, probably mentioned in a deed from 1208, and Pietro Baldissero.¹⁷¹ In 1224, in a document from the abbey of Casanova, two Templars from the house of Chieri were mentioned, these being a priest, Pietro, and a *canevarius* of the same name.¹⁷² In May 1273 Ogerio, preceptor of Santa Margherita del Tempio in Turin, appeared in a deed of settlement, undersigning the payment of some debts of Bonifacio de Valdamar, *conversus* of the Cistercian monastery of Brione.¹⁷³

The fact that the estates of these monasteries often bordered those of the Templars¹⁷⁴ implies a certain continuity in relations between these institutions, although from the data available we cannot know the intensity and tenor of these relations.

Several members of the Cistercian Order were elected as arbitrators in disputes involving the Military Order. The most representative of these is Peter, abbot of Lucedio, who, together with Boiamondo, abbot of Chiaravalle della Colomba, was called on to settle the *Calventia* controversy.¹⁷⁵ This contact is even more significant if one considers that he later joined the Fourth Crusade and became patriarch of Antioch.¹⁷⁶

The dynamics of the relations between the Temple and the Hospital, two bodies that had often made contrasting political choices in the Holy Land and that had had moments of intense rivalry in the West, were more complex.¹⁷⁷ As regards the settlement strategy of the two orders, given that they both had the same identical need to maintain

¹⁷¹ *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda*, I, doc. 149, pp. 149–150.

¹⁷² *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 211, p. 174.

¹⁷³ *Cartario del monastero di Brione (Val della Torre) fino all'anno 1300*, ed. G. Sella, BSSS 67/1 (Pinerolo, 1913), doc. 67, p. 62.

¹⁷⁴ See below, Part II, pp. 277, 281, 310–311.

¹⁷⁵ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, l. II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

¹⁷⁶ For Peter of Lucedio and Boiamundo della Colomba see J.C. Moore, “Peter of Lucedio (Cistercian Patriarch of Antioch) and Pope Innocent III”, *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 29 (1987), pp. 221–249; Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 57–66, 100–104, 115–136, 239–245; Rapetti, *La formazione*, p. 93; C. Andenna, “La memoria liturgica di una canonica regolare della «Lombardia medievale»”, in M. Borgolte, C.D. Fonseca, H. Houben, eds., *Memoria. Ricordare e dimenticare nella cultura del medioevo*. Trento, 4–6 aprile 2002 (Bologna–Berlin, 2005), pp. 270–271, 284; G. Cariboni, *La via migliore. Pratiche memoriali e dinamiche istituzionali nel liber del capitolo dell'abbazia cistecense di Lucedio* (Berlin, 2005), pp. 68–71. For further relations between Lucedio and the Temple see *Le carte medievali della Chiesa d'Acqui*, ed. R. Pavoni, Collana storica di Fonti e Studi 22 (Genoa, 1977), doc. 139, p. 250; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 241.

¹⁷⁷ Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 117, 132, 161, 443–450, 460, 467; Demurger, *Vie et mort*, pp. 196–198; Nicholson, *Templars*, pp. 122–123.

constant links with Outremer, it can be seen that the logic applied by both orders when establishing houses in an area tended to be similar. Hospitaller houses also tended to be outside the city walls and the hospital functions they performed often led to them choosing sites close to major traffic routes. It should also be noted that, in most cases (Milan, Cremona, Bergamo, Genoa etc.), the Templar and Hospitaller houses were next-door to each other.¹⁷⁸

The fragmentary state of the records and the lack of documented studies on the presence of Hospitallers in different parts of this area make it difficult to compare the settlement time-scale of the two orders. On the basis of the information currently available the Temple seems to have been present in important towns, such as Milan, Vercelli, Bergamo and Ivrea, before the Hospitallers.¹⁷⁹ However, the fact that the length of time between the first references to Templar houses and those of the Knights of St. John was fairly short suggests that the expansion of the two orders was, to a certain extent, contemporary.

This situation could easily have created a general air of rivalry, but, in North-west Italy, there are no signs of real opposition between the two Orders. It can be seen, though, that some disciplinary measures, such as those noted previously for Acqui and Alba, concerned both orders, which demonstrates a certain similarity in actions at a local level. One possible example of good relations appears in the 1208 document in which Oberto of Acqui and Ogerio were named as witnesses to the acceptance of the arbitration of the bishop of Turin in the dispute between the Knights of St. John of Chiomonte and the canons of Oulx.¹⁸⁰

The evolution of the Temple's political line in Lombardy is also reflected in the political stance of the Hospital in the same area, which had the same links with the court of Frederick I¹⁸¹ and, later, also had the same relations with the papal court.¹⁸² The absence of any real rivalry between the two orders in this area could also be explained by the fact that they recruited from the same families. Many of the

¹⁷⁸ See below, Part II.

¹⁷⁹ For this see the individual outlines of these convents. Part II also gives the date of the first attestation to the house of the Knights of St. John in each of the places described.

¹⁸⁰ *Le carte della prepositura di Oulx*, doc. 234, pp. 233–234.

¹⁸¹ Bordone, "I cavalieri", pp. 342–343.

¹⁸² Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, p. 62; Gerola, "La iconografia", pp. 471–484; Luttrell, "Iconography", pp. 31–33.

families mentioned earlier also had members who joined the Hospital and reached the highest ranks there.

In 1251 Ottone Greco di Canelli was attested to as provincial prior of Lombardy.¹⁸³ His priorship seems to have had a 20-year interruption, given that he is not mentioned again as holder of this office until 1277.¹⁸⁴ It could be that his temporary absence from the provincial office was linked to events in the Staufen faction, which, as we have seen, also influenced the choice of Templar provincial dignitaries. Another person found amongst the ranks of the Hospitallers is Bonifacio di Calamandrana, a member of the same noble group and *generalis preceptor in partibus cismarinis*. He was sent on a mission to Armenia and, according to Alphonse III of Aragon, the reason for this move, which could have put his life in danger, was his very links with the Spanish court.¹⁸⁵ Hospitallers Percivalle and Pietro di Canelli were then attested to as being heads of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia in the course of the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁶

A precious source of information for the reconstruction of relations between the nobility of what is now Piedmont and the Hospital is the list of preceptors who attended the Order's provincial chapter in Asti in 1302.¹⁸⁷ Amongst them was Giacomo di Canelli, head of the house of Castellazzo Bormida and future prior of Lombardy during the acquisition of the Temple's possessions by the Hospital (1308–1322).¹⁸⁸ During the same period the Order's Milanese house was assigned to his relative Corrado. One of the latter's successors was another Percivalle (1344) who belonged to the same family.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, p. 221.

¹⁸⁴ *Cartario del monastero di Brione*, doc. 72, pp. 68–69; Bordone, “I cavalieri”, p. 354 (in 1259 Guglielmo da Rapallo was *preceptor hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierusalemitemani in Lombardia*; in 1271 Engheramo de Graniana was *in prioratu Venetiarum et Lombardie et locum domini magistri in prioratu Urbis tenentem*).

¹⁸⁵ Barbero, “I signori di Canelli”, pp. 232–233; Bronstein, *The Hospitallers*, p. 148.

¹⁸⁶ Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Bongiovanni Stanforte (1349–1371), protocollo 1, busta 211, fols. 93^v–94^r; A. Zaninoni, “La *Domus sive Mansio Misericordie* di Piacenza nei registri notarili del XIV secolo. I beni immobiliari e la loro gestione”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, pp. 465–466.

¹⁸⁷ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 485, pp. 318–322.

¹⁸⁸ In 1308 he was already referred to as lieutenant to the Grand Master Fulk of Villaret in the priory of Lombardy, whereas in 1311 he was definitely attested to as provincial prior. Bordone, “I cavalieri”, pp. 369–370.

¹⁸⁹ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, p. 238. Note also that even in Bubbio, the place of origin of a Templar provincial master, there were some Hospitaller possessions. Bordone, “I cavalieri”, pp. 352–353.

Another person who was present at the 1302 chapter is Tommaso di Ponzone, preceptor of San Giovanni in Orba, whose predecessor in this position was his relative Guglielmo. The very same Tommaso was also head of the Savona house, while two other members of his family, Albertino and Antonio, held important positions, one being lieutenant-general for Lombardy (1382) and the other being commander of the commendaries of Tortona, Pavia, Altavilla, Canelli and Verzate (1391).¹⁹⁰ Another family member, Oliviero, was also in the Order.¹⁹¹

Again in 1302 Manfredo di Bosco was named as preceptor of the house of Roncaglia, whereas his relative Giacomo was in charge of that of Diano Marina.¹⁹²

Finally, amongst those convened to the provincial chapter in question was the presbyter Giovanni, of the counts of Biandrate. In all probability he can be identified as the prior of Lombardy, active until 1355.¹⁹³

From this brief summary it appears evident that the same families that were close to the Temple also joined the Hospital. This could partly explain the similar aims and character of the actions of both organisations in this area.

Further references were made to the relations between the Temple and the Hospital in the trial. During the inquisitorial administration period in Tortona, the inquisitor, Filippo de Cumis, assigned the management of part of the Templar estate to the preceptor of the local Hospitaller house.¹⁹⁴ Also, in the Council of Ravenna in 1311, in which Templar affairs were discussed, Bono, master of the Hospital of St. John, had the mandate of the clergy of Bologna.¹⁹⁵ However, the most significant item here is the presence of the minister of the Hospitaller house of Santa Maria in Borghetto as witness for the Templars being tried in their *purgatio canonica*, the final stage of an inquiry which declared them extraneous to the accusations levelled against the Order.¹⁹⁶ It is also worth remembering that in 1314 Raimondo Fontana, preceptor of

¹⁹⁰ Bordone, "I cavalieri", pp. 363–364.

¹⁹¹ P. Cosola, *Il Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta nella storia di Alessandria e del suo territorio* (Alessandria, 1996), p. 51.

¹⁹² Bordone, "I cavalieri", p. 366.

¹⁹³ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", p. 238; Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, p. 65; Cosola, *Il Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta*, p. 25; Bordone, "I cavalieri", pp. 370–371.

¹⁹⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 547.

¹⁹⁵ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 45, p. 293.

¹⁹⁶ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 307.

Sant'Egidio in Piacenza, was fleeing to Borghetto, when he was killed by some men sent by Opizzo Landi.¹⁹⁷

Finally, it should be underlined that in some places the Temple also entertained relations with the Humiliati. The relations documented in Milan and Cremona were of a purely economic nature. In Bergamo they were based entirely on the fact that the houses of the two orders were adjacent. These connections are further attested to in *Calventia*, where the Humiliati agreed to hand over their oratory to the Templars.¹⁹⁸ The case of Piacenza is more significant in that Obertus Blanchus and Guillelmus Vespa, *minister* and *frater Domus Humiliatorum de Sancto Raymundo Placentie* respectively, gave evidence in favour of the Templars in their compurgation,¹⁹⁹ thus showing that positive relations existed between the members of the two orders.

3. Cooperation and conflict with communes

Relations between the Temple and civil authorities in North-west Italy alternated between periods of cooperation and great friction.²⁰⁰ The fact that there was cooperation at local level with some communes is shown by the presence of members of the city's patrician class amongst the ranks of the Templars. The most notable of these was definitely Rolando Bergognino, *credendarius*,²⁰¹ several times consul and ambassador of the commune of Asti.²⁰² He had contacts with members of noble lineages such as the Montferrat, Busca and Saluzzo families²⁰³ and conducted negotiations with the commune of Alba.²⁰⁴ This intense

¹⁹⁷ Guarino, *Chronicon Placentinum ab anno MCCLXXXIX. ad annum MCCCXIII.*, in *Chronica tria Placentina*, p. 382.

¹⁹⁸ See below, Part II, p. 292.

¹⁹⁹ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 303. For relations between Templars and Humiliati in Milan, Bergamo, *Calventia* and Piacenza see individual sections in Part II. A particular case, regarding the North-east, is analysed in G. De Sandre Gasparini, "Breve storia di un prete veronese. Gualimberto di San Vitale e il movimento religioso duecentesco", in *Per Alberto Piazzzi. Scritti offerti per il 50° di sacerdozio* (Verona, 1998), pp. 117–129.

²⁰⁰ For the relations between the Temple and local civil institutions in France see Carbasse, "Les commanderies", pp. 23–24.

²⁰¹ *Codex Astensis*, II, doc. 32, p. 107, doc. 276, p. 339, III, doc. 989, p. 1195.

²⁰² *Codex Astensis*, II, doc. 59, p. 125, doc. 63, p. 126, III, doc. 957, p. 1146.

²⁰³ *Codex Astensis*, II, doc. 59, p. 125, doc. 63, p. 126, doc. 254, p. 302, doc. 679, p. 717, III, doc. 908, p. 1027, doc. 929, p. 1069.

²⁰⁴ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 957, p. 1146, IV, doc. 1000, p. 17.

political activity, attested between 1188 and 1202, culminated in his taking on the role of *podestà* of Chieri and Savigliano.²⁰⁵ In 1203 he then immediately appeared as *praeceptor mansionis Templi Sancti Martini de Gurra et mansionis Taurini et Carij et Testone quae sunt de Templo*.²⁰⁶ Thus, shortly after his entry into the Order, Rolando was given the delicate task of running the Templar establishments in the Turin hills, a network of houses that were most likely going through a period of rapid development and that required strong leadership. In this role Rolando presided over the sale of some of the Templar possessions in Gorra to the commune of Chieri, which wanted to establish a *villanova* there.²⁰⁷ It is likely, therefore, that he was also called on to run these houses because of this forthcoming delicate financial transaction.

The phenomenon that most encouraged the establishment of relations between the Temple and the communes of Piedmont was that of the foundation of *borghi nuovi*. This multifaceted movement, involving “distruzioni, ricostruzioni, rifondazioni e spostamenti di sede”²⁰⁸ was born from a new dynamism, both demographic and political, encouraged and planned by the communal bodies themselves. The new settlements were not only founded because of military needs and not only after the Peace of Constance (1183), as historiography had it up to just a few decades ago.²⁰⁹ The reasons leading to the creation of new villages were many and varied, as were the types of newly founded settlements.²¹⁰ The time span over which these settlements appeared was also very long.

This movement was very active in the Piedmont region²¹¹ and also involved lands belonging to the Temple, often situated in zones that were increasing in value or near very busy routes. Also, a number of

²⁰⁵ *Codex Astensis*, II, doc. 83, p. 139, doc. 662, p. 683, doc. 679, p. 717; *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 3–5, pp. 5–8; *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Torino*, doc. 117, pp. 114–123.

²⁰⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, pp. 80–85; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 4, pp. 153–156; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 416–418.

²⁰⁷ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 189; Casiraghi, “Fondazioni Templari”, p. 131, note 16; Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 36, note 134.

²⁰⁸ A.A. Settia, “Le pedine e la scacchiera: iniziative di popolamento nel secolo XIII”, in R. Comba, A.A. Settia, eds., *I Borghi nuovi. Secoli XII–XIV* (Cuneo, 1993), p. 63.

²⁰⁹ Settia, “Le pedine”, p. 74, note 4.

²¹⁰ Settia, “Le pedine”, p. 64ff.

²¹¹ F. Panero, “Villenove e villefranche in Piemonte: la condizione giuridica e socio-economica degli abitanti”, in Comba, Settia, eds., *I Borghi nuovi*, pp. 195–217; R. Comba, “I borghi nuovi dal progetto alla fondazione”, *ibid.*, pp. 279–300.

Templar houses were founded close to new settlement areas such as Mondovì and Savigliano.²¹² From this point of view too, the Order's settlement process seemed particularly attuned to the dynamics of developments in local environment.

The decision to sell a substantial part of the Templar property in Gorra had been discussed at the provincial chapter of the Order in Asti in 1203. The Temple was to retain ownership of a stretch of land in the area of the sold property for the construction of an *ayrale* or *TECTUM*, which was to be equipped with a bakery and a mill. The Templars were also to be allowed their own fisherman who could fish in the nearby rivers, provided he did not sell the catch.²¹³ The Temple thus still had the option of having their own self-sufficient house on the site, while the commune of Chieri had all the resources necessary for the creation of a new settlement. This type of contract has been compared to the French *pariage*, but with the important difference that, in this case, the agreement reached between the parties did not include the equal sharing of the use entitlements and profits resulting from the transaction.²¹⁴ In all probability, by endorsing this sale, the Templars hoped to benefit from the advantages of having their *mansio* next to a newly-formed settlement. The zone, which was rather unhealthy, was to be subject to land reclamation work and the Temple was to take on the parochial functions of the new residential area. The transaction thus seemed beneficial to both parties.²¹⁵

The sale in question regarded a piece of land that had been worked in various ways and that was still partly uncultivated.²¹⁶ The most important thing about it was its location, being in the immediate proximity of the Po and Stellone waterways. It was this that prompted Chieri to buy the Templar property, so that it could be in control of new sources of water and power for driving the mills. The decision to establish this *villanova* was also taken due to the fact that Testona had attempted to stop Chieri making use of the local waterways. From this point of view, the fact that Chieri could preside over a junction

²¹² Comba, "I borghi nuovi", pp. 288–292.

²¹³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, pp. 83–85.

²¹⁴ See also the foundation of the *villanova* of Sterda, the result of a transaction between the commune of Asti and the abbot of San Solutore, or the construction of a *villanova* next to the grange of San Lorenzo on the basis of agreements between Filippo d'Acaia and the Abbot of Rivalta. Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 41–42.

²¹⁵ Casiraghi, "Fondazioni templari", p. 132.

²¹⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, p. 81.

of a certain importance and that new lands could be cultivated were merely secondary benefits. It was not by chance that Chieri's expansion in the Gorra direction was followed by a similar scheme for expanding towards Cavanne, with similar aims.²¹⁷ The commune of Testona responded to these moves in 1229 by buying a third of the castle and villa of Gorra and all related use rights, which also included the use of the waterways.²¹⁸ The previous year Testona had forbidden the people of Chieri right of way across its land and it seems that it had also forbidden use of the mills on the Po.²¹⁹ The residents of Testona were also ready to take up armed defence of their bridge.²²⁰ These actions led to a war between Testona and Chieri and in 1229 Testona attacked the *villanova* of Chieri at Pecetto.²²¹

The acquisition of Gorra was also of special value in relations between Chieri and the bishop of Turin, whose patronage over the commune was particularly demanding. In 1200 disagreements between the commune of Chieri and the bishop had been settled by a peace treaty achieved through the mediation of Asti and Vercelli.²²² Following this an agreement reached in 1204 relegated Chieri to a lower status in relation to the commune of Turin and the bishop, with an even harsher state of subordination being imposed on Testona.²²³ Thus, it comes as no surprise that the bishop probably had a supervisory role in the sale of Gorra, confirmed by the fact that the transaction was drawn up in his palace. The Templars in the Turin hills had a special bond with the bishop, who had been in favour of their establishment of houses in this area, and it is worth noting that Rolando Bergognino was no longer referred to as preceptor of the Turin house the year after this transaction. Unfortunately, we do not know if the bishop's influence on the Turin house promoted this change. However, this convent probably kept a closer connection to the prelate, whereas the nearby houses

²¹⁷ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 32.

²¹⁸ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 172.

²¹⁹ G. Colombo, *Notizie storiche intorno alla città di Moncalieri* (Turin, 1876), p. 12; *Cartario di Pinerolo fino all'anno 1300*, ed. F. Gabotto, BSSS 2/1 (Pinerolo, 1899), doc. 94, pp. 123–133.

²²⁰ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 53, pp. XLV–XLVI.

²²¹ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 163; Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 92ff.; C. La Rocca, "Un caso paradigmatico: la villanova di Pecetto Torinese", in Comba, Settia, eds., *I Borghi nuovi*, pp. 219–229.

²²² Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 16–17.

²²³ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 30–31.

were located in cities that aimed at an increasing independence.²²⁴ Just after the purchase of Gorra Chieri began to free itself from the bishop of Turin's patronage, leading to a series of disputes that were not settled until 1224, when the prelate renounced his rights over this commune.²²⁵

Even though Chieri's transaction with the Temple seemed to be of mutual benefit to the contracting parties, the sale became the subject of a bitter struggle between the Order and the commune of Chieri. It is difficult to say which period the conflict began in, although it has been suggested that it developed shortly after the sale and that it had something to do with the disagreements with Testona.²²⁶ To understand this hypothesis more clearly we need to take a brief look at relations between Testona and the Military Order. In the past historians have argued that it was the damage and destruction incurred in the war with Chieri (1228–1229) that caused this commune to move to Moncalieri. Now, though, the cause of the move tends to be attributed to a precise political plan, also linked to the presence of a Templar house, which probably encouraged the flow of new inhabitants into the area. This process is corroborated by the good geographical position of the site. The land registers of the commune of Moncalieri confirm that artisans and merchants lived in the village, attracted by its favourable location.²²⁷

Perhaps the rulers of Testona had already considered the possibility of moving the headquarters of their commune to the area around the Templar house of Moncalieri from as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. Testona's move actually took place some time between 1204 and 1227, at the height of the conflict with Chieri.²²⁸ This act was a declaration of independence by the commune of Testona and also gave it the benefit of a new location at a junction in the road network.²²⁹ Also, the naming of two of the gates of the new village after the cities of Piacenza and Milan emphasised the fact that

²²⁴ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, pp. 85–86; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 7, pp. 159–160; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 419–420; Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 140.

²²⁵ Cognasso, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 108–109; Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 16.

²²⁶ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 190.

²²⁷ Daviso di Charvensod, “I catasti di un comune”, p. 47; *Documenti inediti e sparsi sulla storia di Torino*, ed. F. Cognasso, BSSS 65 (Pinerolo, 1914), doc. 94, pp. 96–99; Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 134; La Rocca, *Da Testona*, pp. 189–192.

²²⁸ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, pp. 183–188.

²²⁹ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 192.

Testona had sided with the Lombard League against Chieri.²³⁰ Thus, the Templar running of the Sant'Egidio hospital seems eventually not to have met the bishop of Turin's expectations of fostering his control over the region and, better still, it perhaps indirectly favoured the area's increasing independence.

With the transfer of the commune to Moncalieri and the further development of this village, the house of Sant'Egidio, initially called *mansio pontis Testone*, took the name of *domus Templi Montiscalerii* or *mansio Sancti Egidii de montecalerio*²³¹ and subsequently, perhaps also because of the conflict with Chieri, it was assigned to an independent preceptor, first attested in 1233. In this year the *podestà* of Moncalieri acknowledged that the commune had incurred a debt to Giovanni de Casselis, preceptor of the Templar house of Moncalieri, for the purchase of a piece of land on which the commune wanted to dig a *bealera*, i.e. an irrigation ditch.²³² Here too, the Templar property was linked to the use of local water courses.

Against this background, the clashes between the Temple and Chieri have been seen as a consequence of the closeness of the Military Order to the commune of Testona.²³³ The key role of the bridge of Sant'Egidio in this conflict certainly implies the involvement of the Templars in the struggle. Some sources refer to good relations between the brethren of Sant'Egidio and the local authorities. In 1244 Opizone di Lomello, a judge of the commune, and the members of the *credenza* negotiated a loan to fund the tracking down of the murderers of the local Templar preceptor Giovanni d'Alessandria.²³⁴ In 1253 Presbitero della Fonte resigned from the post of *podestà* of Moncalieri in the presence of Pellegrino de Casellis, he too preceptor of Sant'Egidio.²³⁵ Even though in 1254, in a dispute with the Temple, the rulers of the commune were excommunicated by Baldovino, bishop of Brugnato and papal dele-

²³⁰ F. Gabotto, "Un comune piemontese del secolo XIII", *Ateneo Veneto*, XIX ser., 1 (1895), pp. 252–254.

²³¹ *Le carte dell'archivio del Duomo di Torino*, doc. 52, p. 93; *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 88.

²³² "Appendice documentaria. *Fiunt publica instrumenta*: il fondo pergameneo «serie generale» del Comune di Moncalieri", ed. P.L. Patria, in G. Casiraghi, *Il rifugio del vescovo. Testona e Moncalieri nella diocesi medievale di Torino* (Turin, 1997), doc. 46, pp. 263–264; *Inventario e regesto dell'archivio comunale di Moncalieri fino all'anno 1418*, ed. F. Gabotto, *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, III ser., 5 (1900), no. 57, p. 351; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 119. For the meaning of the word *bealera* see Cange, *Glossarium*, I, p. 612.

²³³ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 190.

²³⁴ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune di Moncalieri, Serie Generale, no. 160.

²³⁵ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune di Moncalieri, Serie Generale, no. 229.

gate,²³⁶ two years later, this question seemed to be completely settled as two lay affiliates of the Temple were amongst the witnesses to the deed attesting the appointment of Giacomo di Selberico as *podestà* of Moncalieri.²³⁷ These pieces of evidence, however, are mostly from the period after the settlement of the Gorra dispute (1245), and it seems reasonable to assume that before this, notwithstanding the positive relations with Testona, the Order had at least initially attempted to protect the interests of both the Chieri and Moncalieri houses, despite the friction between the two communes. Besides, the situation was much more complex. The reasons for the delay in the founding of Villastellone were also related to the state of subjugation imposed on Chieri in the treaty of 1204. The way of dividing up the territories which the communes involved in the negotiations had conquered by force actually favoured Turin, and could also have been applied in the case of Villastellone, removing it from the exclusive control of Chieri. This probably stopped the commune from putting its plan into effect straight away. It was only after the failed attempt to build another *villanova* in Cavanne and after the commune of Testona's move to Moncalieri that Chieri turned its attentions again to Gorra, where, in fact, the new village was attested to from 1236.²³⁸ In all probability it was at this very point that the dispute with the Temple arose.

It has also been presumed that, during the initial negotiations, Rolando Bergognino knowingly acted to the detriment of the Templars and to the benefit of Chieri, an ally of Asti, his native town. According to this interpretation, the Temple then washed its hands of the problem, believing that the creation of the new village was unlikely to be successful. It was only after the creation of Villastellone that the Order advanced new claims on the use of the area and the related rights.²³⁹ In truth, however, it would have been difficult for the Templars not to have realised that the failure of the Chieri plan would have harmed the Order, by depriving it of part of its possessions in exchange for a limited gain. It seems more likely that it hoped the new settlement would be a success and that it would pull the nearby Templar community along with it as well. In the meantime, the presence of Rolando Bergognino

²³⁶ *Documenti sulle relazioni commerciali fra Asti e Genova*, doc. 456, pp. 178–179; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 497, note 421.

²³⁷ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune di Moncalieri, Serie Generale, no. 244 (the documents kept in this archive were kindly pointed out to me by Luca Patria).

²³⁸ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 32–38.

²³⁹ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 43.

acted as a guarantee for both parties, because of his administrative skills and the contacts he had previously had with Chieri.

A full analysis of the dispute can only be made by comparing the deed of sale with the document which, in 1245, thanks also to the intervention of Frederick II, brought it to an end. On this occasion the Temple was represented by Giacomo de Boscho, Templar master of Italy, with the mandate of the Grand Master and Visitor-general of the Order. With the assent of all the Templars resident in Chieri, Moncalieri and Gorra, Giacomo came to an agreement with the commune of Chieri and it can be noted once again that there was no mention of the brethren of the house of Turin.²⁴⁰

In the deed of 1245 it was stated that the Temple had to have its own church in the new village with an adjacent cemetery. The rural building already mentioned in the 1203 document had to be constructed on the hundred *tabule* owned by the Temple. The Temple would be recognised as owner of the entire *fornaticum* of the villa and all the ovens. Particular emphasis was placed on granting the Order burial rights, the right to collect offerings and tithes, and the exercise of parochial functions in general.²⁴¹ These resolutions are only a part of what was stated in the original sale. Here the duties and responsibilities of the two parties to the transaction were specified in more detail. As for the *fornaticum*, the monopoly granted to the Temple had not been stated previously.

As regards the use of the waterways, the definition of the reciprocal rights and obligations was different. Whereas in the deed of 1203 the Templars could only have a mill and a fisherman, provided the catch was not sold, in the subsequent agreement Chieri underlined its right to divert the Po backwaters and the Stellone as they pleased and to build all the structures necessary for using the water, with the Templars and their master having no right to object.²⁴² Chieri was entitled to three quarters of the dues and products of the milling and the Templars to one quarter. The expenditure for the construction of the machinery for using the water, the timber for the building, the wages of the *colectores ad capiendam multuram*, the *ius piscandi* and the catch were all to be divided according to the same criterion. The Templars could have more than one fisherman, whereas all the people of Chieri would have the right

²⁴⁰ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 8, pp. 160–169; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 421–425.

²⁴¹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 88.

²⁴² *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 88–89.

to use the mills. Chieri also pledged to defend the Templars not only against the *provinciales*, but also against interference from the inhabitants of the new village and the people of Chieri themselves. The right to use the pasture was divided equally between the people of Chieri and the Templars.²⁴³

So, the conditions stated in the 1245 agreement changed the terms of the 1204 contract considerably, specifying the reciprocal entitlements and obligations and the exercising of *iura bannalia* in detail. From this perspective, it could be hypothesised that the two parties clashed over the interpretation of the rights, which had not been clearly specified. Only a jurisdictional re-analysis of the contractual terms could have healed the rift, whose seriousness is borne out by the fact that the parish church, which should have belonged to the Templars, had not yet been built in 1245.²⁴⁴ The dispute was probably caused by local questions arising from the fact that the entitlements of the two villages had not been clearly specified, in addition to the existing points of contention between Chieri and Moncalieri. Also, the possibility of links between the Temple and Moncalieri further exacerbating the conflict between Chieri and the Order should not be ruled out. Chieri may have been suspicious of the Templars because of their positive relations with the rival commune. However, it is difficult to know whether the attitude of the Temple in this dispute and its possible intransigence towards Chieri could have actually been dictated by its closeness to the commune of Moncalieri.

The scale of this dispute was not merely local considering that it was brought to an end with the intervention of Emperor Frederick II, who was in Piedmont in this period, and the governing bodies of the Templar Order (the final agreement had to be examined by the Grand Master and General Chapter).²⁴⁵ The Imperial involvement in this matter could well have partially aided the cause of Chieri, which was on the Staufen side.²⁴⁶

In 1285 a new dispute arose between Chieri and the Temple over some damage to properties in San Leonardo. The deed of settlement for the dispute stresses that relations between the two parties had deteriorated markedly. The arbitrator's award stated that the commune

²⁴³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 89–90.

²⁴⁴ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 29, note 98.

²⁴⁵ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 91.

²⁴⁶ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, p. 695.

of Chieri had to rebuild a rural building that had been destroyed, and that if this kind of thing happened again it would have to pay damages to the Order. It appears, therefore, that a fire had been started deliberately and that the act was clearly imputable to people connected to the commune of Chieri. In the settlement of the dispute the Temple evidently aimed to take precautions against future damage and it is not by chance that the agreements reached had to be transcribed in the communal documents register. In the dispute the Temple was represented by the masters of two neighbouring houses, and this too seemed to be in response to the need to tone down the conflicts at a local level.²⁴⁷

Another factor that has to be evaluated in the complex Piedmont scenario is the political stance of the commune of Asti. At the time of the sale of Gorra the commune of Chieri tended to be closer to the political line of Asti, which was where Bergognino came from. It was only in 1232 that it started to distance itself from Asti's line.²⁴⁸ There is more, however, to the connection between the actions of the Temple locally and the politics of the commune of Asti. Around the beginning of the thirteenth century at least one Templar provincial chapter was held in Asti,²⁴⁹ and the Asti-Montferrat area was one of the main recruiting grounds for Templar provincial dignitaries throughout the thirteenth century.²⁵⁰ An initial link between the commune of Asti and the Temple can be seen in 1226–1227, when two documents regarding the relations between Asti and the Marquis of Montferrat were issued in Templar houses.²⁵¹ However, the direct involvement of the commune of Asti in Templar affairs cannot be seen until 1251, when Pope Innocent IV forbade a Templar master of Lombardy (unidentified) from selling the house of Murello to Asti.²⁵² This attempted sale illustrates the good relations between the Order and the commune of Asti, especially if one considers that the purchase of Murello would have given control over routes leading to Alpine passes and Liguria to Asti, at that

²⁴⁷ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 10, pp. 170–171; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 426–427.

²⁴⁸ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 15–22.

²⁴⁹ This is the one held in 1203. A doubt remains as to whether *Villa Mausonii*, where a chapter was held presumably in the last quarter of the twelfth century, could have been near Villanova d'Asti. See specific section in Part II.

²⁵⁰ See above, Chapter III, p. 91 ff.

²⁵¹ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 742, p. 793, doc. 915, p. 1038.

²⁵² *Chartarum*, doc. 951, cols. 1406–1407.

time involved in a bitter struggle against Thomas II of Savoy.²⁵³ Unfortunately, the document in our possession does not give the name of the dignitary who wanted to make the sale. It could have been Giacomo de Boscho, already mentioned in connection with the settlement of the Gorra dispute, or Giacomo de Balma, whose exact hierarchical position we do not know. The actions of Giacomo de Balma in particular seem to reflect a positive attitude to the commune of Asti. In 1247 he gave his consent to the renting out of the hill of Montemaggiore to Savigliano.²⁵⁴ This would have made it possible for Savigliano to erect defences against Cherasco, a village founded by Alba during the conflict with Asti.²⁵⁵ The elimination or containment of military actions launched from Cherasco therefore meant benefiting the interests of Asti at the expense of those of its rival, Alba.²⁵⁶ This scheme, aided by the rent of some Templar possessions, could count on gaining general approval, given that Manfredi Lancia, who, together with Alba, was the main artefact of the foundation of the new village of Cherasco, renounced his previous actions in 1246 and became realigned with Asti, whereas Frederick II, the patron of the new *borgo*, regretted having given his consent.²⁵⁷

Finally, it should be noted that in the 1285 dispute with Chieri, the Temple was represented by Federico de Bargiis, preceptor of Asti, identifiable either with the Templar brother of the same name who was head of the Murello house in 1266 or with a relative of his. Even though the sale of this convent to Asti had not been completed, this seems to confirm that Murello was still connected to Asti.

Rolando, the arbiter appointed to settle the Chieri dispute of 1285 which went in favour of the Military Order, was also from Asti and was a canon and papal chaplain.²⁵⁸ The Temple had already explicitly requested the intervention of an archpriest from Asti previously, in the Albenga dispute, and he had been seen to favour the Military Order.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 766–769.

²⁵⁴ Turletti, *Storia*, II, p. 264.

²⁵⁵ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, p. 679; F. Panero, ed., *Cherasco. Origine e sviluppo di una villanova* (Cuneo, 1994); F. Panero, *Comuni e borghi franchi nel Piemonte medievale* (Bologna, 1988), pp. 193–228.

²⁵⁶ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 768–770; R. Comba, “La villanova dell’imperatore”, in Panero, ed., *Cherasco*, pp. 78–81.

²⁵⁷ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, p. 705.

²⁵⁸ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 191–192.

²⁵⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 89–90.

This information hints at the Temple's capacity to weave a web of positive relationships with the Asti church hierarchies too.

In this context it is not easy to understand what caused the commune of Moncalieri, which was very likely to have been within Asti's sphere of influence, to adopt a hostile attitude to the Temple in 1254. The leaders of this commune were reprimanded for having behaved improperly towards the Templars, and Baldovino, bishop of Brugnato and papal delegate, excommunicated them for their jibes against the preceptor and members of the Temple *a papiensi civitate superius*.²⁶⁰ In truth, Baldovino's harsh reprimand was probably intended not only to defend the Templar Order, but also and above all to strike a blow against one of the adversaries of his relative, Thomas II of Savoy, a rival of Asti.²⁶¹ In this case it may have been possible that the dispute initially concerned property and only subsequently became political as well.

A conflict between the Templars and the commune of Torbole, in the Brescia district, also occurred over property. In 1300 an arbiter decided that the Templars had to be given two plots of land within this commune, and this was done the following year.²⁶² In the same area and during the same period, the Templars had to deal with another dispute with the commune of Ponteviso. Here too, the Military Order came off better, but the Ponteviso authorities tried not to observe the terms of the settlement, by which the Templars should have received compensation in money.²⁶³ In both these cases the Military Order was opposed not by an urban commune but by rural institutions, who evidently were trying to gain more influence in the area at the Temple's expense. Unfortunately, we have very little information on these two disputes and are unable to make any further comments.

Finally, in Piacenza, relations between the Templars and the local commune ruling class probably had a profound effect on the Order's presence in the city. In 1181, in Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza,

²⁶⁰ *Documenti sulle relazioni commerciali fra Asti e Genova*, doc. 456, pp. 178–179; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 497, note 421.

²⁶¹ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 795–796.

²⁶² Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, nos. 70, 81; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 4, p. 372, doc. 8, p. 373.

²⁶³ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, nos. 78, 82; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 5, p. 373, doc. 9, p. 374.

the marquis Obizzo Malaspina issued a receipt of payment to the local commune and, in 1187, the people of Piacenza met in the same place to elect some *rectores*, who then also oversaw the election of the *podestà*.²⁶⁴ These early references imply a link with the civil authorities in this period about which, unfortunately, we have no further details.

In 1204 the Templars delivered a letter from Pope Innocent III to Piacenza²⁶⁵ and the importance of the Templar house is confirmed in 1220 by the fact that, *in presbiterio ecclesie de Templo*, the consuls and ambassadors of Milan requested the mediation of the *podestà* of Piacenza in disagreements that had arisen between the *milites* and the *popolo* of Milan.²⁶⁶ The *podestà* in this period were Greco Fornario and Guido da Crema, supporters of the *popolo*.²⁶⁷ A possible connection with this political current re-emerged in 1250 when, again in the church of Santa Maria del Tempio, an assembly was held to approve the *statutum* of the *societas populi*.²⁶⁸

Another interesting piece of information concerns the leadership of the *societas populi* by the Fontana family,²⁶⁹ whose membership of the Temple is documented from the end of the thirteenth century.²⁷⁰ In this period the political orientation of the Fontanas was quite complex, alternating between pro-Guelph and pro-Ghibelline positions.²⁷¹ One noteworthy figure from this family was Alberto Fontana, whose brief rule as *podestà* was both arbitrary and despotic.²⁷² He was also the protagonist of an alliance with the head of the Guelphs, Alberto Scotti, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. The alliance was cut short

²⁶⁴ *Il Registrum Magnum del Comune di Piacenza*, eds. E. Falconi, R. Peveri, 4 vols. + indexes (Milan, 1986), I, doc. 181, p. 397; Codagnello, *Chronicon*, p. 15; P. Racine, *Plaisance de Xème a la fin du Xème siècle. Essai d'histoire urbaine*, 3 vols. (Lille-Paris, 1979), I, p. 412, II, pp. 899–890, 904.

²⁶⁵ *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, docs. 173–175, pp. 309–311, doc. 224, p. 397; P. Racine, “Il movimento ereticale”, in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, p. 385; Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 52–59.

²⁶⁶ *Gli atti del Comune di Milano nel secolo XIII*, ed. M.F. Baroni, 4 vols. + indexes (Milan, 1976–1998), I, doc. 54, p. 76. For the conflict in Milan see P. Grillo, *Milano in età comunale (1183–1276). Istituzioni, società, economia* (Spoleto, 2001), pp. 653–657.

²⁶⁷ P. Castignoli, “Il comune podestarile”, in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, p. 270.

²⁶⁸ *Chronicon Placentinum anonimo ab anno MCLIV. ad annum MCCLXXXIV.*, in *Chronica tria Placentina*, p. 193; Racine, *Plaisance*, pp. 724–748.

²⁶⁹ P. Racine, “La discordia civile”, in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, p. 251.

²⁷⁰ Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^r; Zaninoni, “La Domus”, pp. 465–466.

²⁷¹ P. Castignoli, “Dalla podestaria perpetua di Oberto Pallavicino al governo dei mercanti”, in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, pp. 280–281.

²⁷² Castignoli, “Dalla podestaria perpetua”, p. 283.

by Scotti himself, who exiled his father-in-law in 1291.²⁷³ The presence of members of the Fontana family in the ranks of the Templars is noted after these events, however, and after 1250 there is no further information to help us throw light on the orientation of the Templars of Piacenza.

There is more information at the start of the following century. In 1304 the Military Order handed over the Santa Maria del Tempio complex to the nearby Dominican establishment of San Giovanni in Canale. Giacomo Fontana, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, *procurator* and *syndicus* of Giacomo da Montecucco, *cubicularius* and Templar master of Lombardy, brought the transaction to a conclusion.²⁷⁴ The terms of the agreement dictated that the church, with its related parochial functions, some houses, the cloister, the mill and water rights on the nearby river, should go to the Dominicans, while the Templars were to maintain their rights over some of the properties adjacent to Santa Maria. The transfer responded to the Dominicans' need to extend their premises and allowed them to take over the cure of souls practiced by the Templars. It is likely that the acquisition of the Templar complex was approved of in papal circles. Benedict XI, for whom Giacomo da Montecucco was *cubicularius*, was a member of this order, and the Dominican general Americo Ziani was also from Piacenza. A relative of his, the *doctor legum* Niccolò, was quoted in the deed of transfer.²⁷⁵

All this occurred despite the fact that earlier neighbourly relations between the two institutions had not always been smooth (there was a dispute over the use of local waterways in 1253).²⁷⁶ Above all, though, the Templars had decided to give up this important complex without obtaining any material benefits. A few months before the transaction Benedict XI had ordered the bishop of Piacenza to protect the rights and properties of the Templars.²⁷⁷ There seem to have been conflicts

²⁷³ P. Racine, "La signoria di Alberto Scotti", in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, pp. 336–337.

²⁷⁴ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304; Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, pp. 34–35; Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 18.

²⁷⁵ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, p. 34.

²⁷⁶ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 25th of September 1253. For Aimerico Ziani see M.R. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1903–1914), II, 1263–1323, pp. 422–436.

²⁷⁷ *Les registres de Benoît XI*, ed. C. Grandjean, BEF, II ser. (Paris, 1905), doc. 495, col. 332.

at a local level, although we have no precise details of them, which must have involved the Templars in a serious way. It was during this period that the lord of the city, Alberto Scotti, was banished from Piacenza. Is there a link between this event and the giving away of Santa Maria del Tempio? In 1308 the Templar Giacomo Fontana was attacked and beaten and in 1314 his relative Raimondo, he too a preceptor of the Temple in Piacenza—defined as *vir bonus* by the local chronicler Guarino—, was killed by supporters of the Visconti, the new lords of the city.²⁷⁸ The instigator of the killing was Opizzo Landi, Galeazzo Visconti's captain and a member of a family that was an enemy of the Fontanas and the Scottis.²⁷⁹ At this time the Fontanas, captained by Leonardo Arcelli, were still resisting Galeazzo Visconti's attempts to take control in the *contado* of Piacenza and it is worth remembering that Leonardo was present when the election of Raimondo Fontana as preceptor of Sant'Egidio was published.²⁸⁰ In addition to these episodes, there was also the devastating damage inflicted on Templar possessions during the trial.²⁸¹ All these events took place during periods of strong Visconti influence over Piacenza and seem to confirm the existence of a link between the Piacenza Guelph faction, captained by the Scottis, and the local Templars. In actual fact, the Santa Maria del Tempio complex was near to the Scotti family palace²⁸² and a good part of its urban property was in an area under Guelph influence.²⁸³

The fact that the Temple decided to give away the complex of Santa Maria in 1304 with no corresponding payment, sale or rental, highlights the difficulties in which the Order probably found itself. It could thus be hypothesised that, finding themselves in a difficult situation after the Scottis' fall from power, the Piacenza Templars had decided to let their house go in order to gain Dominican support and ensure papal protection. In this case the lineages of the local Templars seemed to

²⁷⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 530; Guarino, *Chronicon*, p. 382.

²⁷⁹ P. Castignoli, "Dalla podestaria perpetua", p. 280ff.; P. Racine, "Verso la signoria", in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, *ibid.*, p. 314; Racine, "La Signoria di Alberto Scotti", p. 333ff.

²⁸⁰ P. Castignoli, "La Signoria di Galeazzo I Visconti (1313–1322)", in *Storia di Piacenza*, III, *Dalla Signoria viscontea al principato farnesiano (1313–1545)*, p. 10; Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^f.

²⁸¹ See below, Chapter V, pp. 183, 187–189.

²⁸² Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, p. 40.

²⁸³ Zaninoni, "La Domus", p. 454.

have strongly affected the Order's positions in the city and to have been the actual cause of its crisis.

In some cases relations between the Temple and communal bodies were still characterised by mutual respect and cooperation, even during the trial. The persistence of these ties came to the fore particularly in the Pavia area, where the inquisitor found himself in serious difficulty over the question of the detention of a local Templar master, Giacomo, who probably had significant connections to the commune.²⁸⁴ It was also suggested to this inquisitor by the communes of Pavia and Tortona that the brethren should be released *pro fideiussione*, and the civil authorities of Pavia went as far as to write letters in the Templars' favour.²⁸⁵ It is worth remembering that the previously mentioned political alliance led by the Fontana family, which was represented in the Temple, had been closely linked to the commune of Pavia as well.²⁸⁶ Also in Casale Monferrato, the families that during the trial had offered shelter to some of their members enrolled in the Temple and wanted by the local inquisitor were amongst the most eminent in the city, such as the Bazzanos and the Garilios.²⁸⁷

In conclusion, the prerogatives, privileges and wealth acquired by the Temple had made it an important interlocutor of the communal institutions during their efforts to consolidate their territorial control in twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This dialectic alternated between cooperation and moments of conflict, often over questions of property. In some places these relations resulted in involving the Military Order in factionalism, internal clashes and struggles between neighbouring communes. During the trial, however, there is evidence of civil authorities still seeing the local Templars in a favourable light.

²⁸⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 551.

²⁸⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 583.

²⁸⁶ P. Racine, "Fontana, Alberto", *DBI* 48 (Rome, 1997), p. 608.

²⁸⁷ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 34, pp. 265–266.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE ORDER

1. *The eve of the trial*

Documentary evidence of Templar houses in North-west Italy becomes more readily available from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards. Unfortunately, many of the deeds simply list the Templars amongst the owners of land adjacent to plots being sold, exchanged or rented, or make references to the areas they occupy.¹ Some of the documents from this period have already been considered in analyses of the Temple's land and property ownership policies.² Several of these concerned the house of Brescia, and it was in this area that two disputes involving the Order were documented at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In April 1300 Pagano, preceptor of the local Templar *mansio*, handed a letter to Dodono de Rubeiis, consul of the commune of Torbole. The letter bore the seal of the bishop of Brescia, Berardo Maggi, and in it the bishop's vicar, Guthotus (Guidotto) de Arcellis of Piacenza, stated that the Templars were entitled to two plots of land in Torbole. The commune's magistrates were obliged, under pain of excommunication, to allocate two plots of land within their territory to the Templars. The consul, Dodono, had to choose four men to carry out the task.³ A year later, on the basis of these instructions, the commune consul Giacomino de Carzapanis of Torbole, known as Nero, handed over a plot of land in the village area to Pagano.⁴

¹ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 65, p. 88; *Le carte medievali*, doc. 188, p. 313, doc. 189, p. 315, doc. 190, p. 317; *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, II, doc. 15, p. 4.

² See above, Chapter II, pp. 74–81.

³ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 70; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 4, p. 372.

⁴ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 81; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 8, p. 373.

Also in 1300 another dispute was judged by Guidotto de Arcellis of Piacenza in his capacity as subdelegate of Giacomo, archdeacon of Cremona and papal delegate for matters concerning the Templars. He established that Algisio de Aliprandis, *sindicus* of the commune of Pontevico, had to pay the Templars forty imperial *lire* and the commune was to bear all the expenses of this case and pay all related damages.⁵ The following year Guidotto was compelled to threaten the authorities of Pontevico with excommunication, as they still had not complied with his instructions.⁶ The nature of the dispute in this case is not known to us. The Templars managed to keep their positions of power and retain their rights and possessions, however, successfully opposing the claims of the rural communes, who, in all probability, had tried to claim property and rights they were not entitled to.

Precisely during this period, in contrast to this successful action in Brescia, the Temple willingly relinquished Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza, the focal point of its local establishment, to the Dominicans.⁷ As noted previously, the Piacenza brethren were very probably involved in internal struggles in the city and must have been affected by the end of the dominion of Alberto Scotti. They decided to relinquish this church in 1304, and this probably allowed them to consolidate relations with the Dominican pope Benedict XI and the upper echelons of the Dominican Order, which at this time was led by Americo Ziani, who was from Piacenza.⁸ And so, the Templar presence in Piacenza was reconfigured, but not eliminated, given that the Order still had the hospital of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia.

Despite having been drawn up during the inquisitorial administration, when the Templar trial had already begun, the inventories of the Order's possessions provide us with further help in reconstructing the size and nature of the estates of some of the Templar houses at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, in some cases we only have partial or very general accounts, providing little more than

⁵ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 82; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 5, p. 373.

⁶ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 78; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 9, p. 374.

⁷ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304; "Le pergamene ritrovate", pp. 92-93.

⁸ Mortier, *Historie*, II, pp. 422-436.

the sum of profits resulting from the running of one or more houses. This is so for Milan,⁹ Novara, Vercelli, Casale Monferrato, Livorno Ferraris and Ivrea.¹⁰

Conversely, the inventories of other houses, such as those in Cremona, Pavia, Torricella Verzate, Casei Gerola, Tortona, Piacenza and surrounding areas, were more detailed. In August 1308, at the house of Cotrebbia, twelve plots of land belonging to the Temple were counted.¹¹ In Castelnuovo Bocca d'Adda, in the Lodi district, mostly wooded lands were listed, along with some cultivated fields, *sedimina* and vineyards.¹² In Fiorenzuola the Order had vineyards, meadows and some houses.¹³ The income from the Cremona estate mainly consisted of rent from almost one hundred and fifty tenants.¹⁴ As regards agricultural production, the inquisitors mainly noted quantities of cereals produced.¹⁵ In Piacenza income from rent for houses and land and the sale of products amounted to a considerable sum.¹⁶ The inquisitor's record also mentions the production of wine, straw, hay, cheese and timber from the woods.¹⁷ The same kinds of crops were noted in Tortona and Casei Gerola, where the inquisitor listed more than eighty rentals for houses and land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the sale of products such as cereals, hay and wine.¹⁸ For the Pavia and Torricella Verzate houses, the inquisitor registered ninety-four income entries, including rent for houses and other property, and the sale of products such as hay, straw, timber, wine and forage.¹⁹ To this there can also be added the takings and profits from the sale of cereals, wine and pigs produced at the house.²⁰ There was also horse breeding in Torricella Verzate.²¹ Despite the numerous expenses and the damage inflicted on

⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 336, p. 540.

¹⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 342, pp. 556–558.

¹¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, p. 484.

¹² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, p. 486.

¹³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, p. 487.

¹⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 514–518.

¹⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 334, pp. 536–537.

¹⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 523–524; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 42, pp. 286–287.

¹⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 532–533.

¹⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, pp. 546–553.

¹⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 568–574.

²⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 574–577. A second set of accounts, as well as noting further expenses and revenues, also listed the mobile assets recovered in the house of Pavia. Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 43, pp. 288–289.

²¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 580.

Templar property during the arrests or flight of the brethren, all the surviving financial accounts have positive balances.

The above information indicates that, on the eve of the trial, the Templar houses in North-west Italy seemed to be busy, efficient units capable of providing a solid local footing for the Order and producing resources that the Temple could draw upon on a continuous basis. The documents from the fourteenth century which pre-date the trial do not give us definite information on the evolution of the Templars' relations with the different local situations. In Brescia the Order responded decisively to the claims of two rural communes and managed to maintain their prerogatives. The situation was different in Piacenza though, where, in all probability, questions of a political nature contributed to the change in importance of the local Templar house.

2. *The trial in North-west Italy*

On the 24th of August 1307 Clement V notified the king of France, Philip IV, that he had initiated an inquiry to ascertain whether there was any truth in the rumours that heretical practices were occurring in the Temple.²² On the 13th of October the same year, Philip unexpectedly ordered the arrest of all the Templars in his kingdom. The Templar brethren were taken by surprise and only a few managed to avoid capture.²³

What were the accusations that justified this action, which was not only unprecedented but also damaging to the prerogatives of the church in this area? Philip, on the advice of his jurists, asserted that members of the Temple had been worshipping idols and obliging new recruits to repudiate Christ during provincial chapters and admission ceremonies, and desecrating the cross. Additionally, they did not believe in the sacraments and during mass their priests deliberately omitted some phrases, thus invalidating the consecration. Further, the sacrament of penitence was administered not just by priests but also by lay members of the Order. Finally, sexual excess and unbridled avidity predominated in the Temple.²⁴

²² Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 62–63.

²³ Barber, *The Trial*, p. 59ff.; A. Beck, *Der Untergang der Templer* (Freiburg, 1992), pp. 47–61.

²⁴ Demurger, *Vie et mort*, pp. 240–241; Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 202–216; B. Frale, *L'ultima*

Shortly after the arrests, which were severely disapproved of by Clement V as he had been debarred from the related functions that were his to exercise by right, the interrogations began and the first confessions were made. They came not only from simple sergeants and knights but also from the highest-ranking dignitaries of the Order, including Geoffrey of Charney, preceptor of Normandy, Hugh of Pairaud, Visitor-General, and, above all, James of Molay (1294–1314), Grand Master of the Order.²⁵ It was not until afterwards, through the papal bull *Pastoralis praeeminentiae* (22nd of November 1307), that Clement V attempted to regain control of the situation by ordering the arrest of all the Templars in the West and Cyprus and confiscating their property. With this act, the inquisitorial process spread to Italy.²⁶

At the beginning of the Templar trial the *officium Dei* was structured in accordance with the reform of Innocent IV, which had divided Italy up into inquisitorial districts, under the Franciscans and Dominicans.²⁷ The province of Lombardy was assigned to the Dominicans and was divided up into an ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ district. Romagna, on the other hand, was under the Franciscans.²⁸ The normal practice was for the inquisitor, after showing his letter of attorney to the holders of civil power, to appoint a court of *probi viri* to assist him and to proceed with the cross-examination of the suspects and witnesses for the prosecution. The suspects could in turn call witnesses on their behalf and also had the right to appeal to the Apostolic See. The use of torture was permitted in heresy trials, having been approved of as an investigative

battaglia dei Templari. Dal codice ombra d'obbedienza militare alla costruzione del processo per eresia (Rome, 2001), p. 135 ff.

²⁵ Demurger, *Vie et mort*, pp. 241–245; Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 73–87.

²⁶ A contemporary copy of the bull can be found in Milan, Archivio di Stato, Sezione storico-diplomatica, Archivio Diplomatico, Bolle e Brevi, cartella 21, secolo XIV. It is identifiable with a document noted by Angelo Fumagalli and conserved in the Dominican archive of Sant'Eustorgio. A. Fumagalli, “Sui Templari, sull’Autore cioè delle loro regole, e sulla cagione del loro distruggimento”, in A. Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi illustrate con dissertazioni dai monaci della Congregazione Cistercense di Lombardia*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1792–1793), II, p. 191. For the library of the Milanese Dominicans, see M. Benedetti, “Le parole e le opere di frate Lanfranco (1292–1305)”, in *Le scritture e le opere degli inquisitori, Quaderni di Storia Religiosa*, 9 (2002), p. 165, note 87.

²⁷ G. Biscaro, “Inquisitori ed eretici lombardi (1292–1318)”, *Miscellanea Storica Italiana*, III ser., 29 (1922), p. 450, note 1; M. D’Alatri, *Eretici e inquisitori in Italia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1986–1987), I, pp. 117–120, 127–134.

²⁸ M. D’Alatri, *L’inquisizione francescana nell’Italia centrale nel secolo XIII* (Rome, 1954), pp. 17, 346.

tool by Innocent IV and ratified as such by Clement IV. It was not, however, to put the victim's life at risk, and the victim was to be called on to ratify his or her confessions subsequently. Retraction could be seen as a relapse into error and any accused person going back on his or her previous word risked being condemned as a relapsed heretic. The sentences that could be passed were prison, fines, confiscation and, ultimately, death at the stake.²⁹

The inquisitors' work was subject to periodic financial checks. A number of reports on the administration of their work can be found in the *Collectoriae* stored in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.³⁰ There is no trace of their inquiry into the Templars in these documents. The deeds of these proceedings, in fact, were kept separately and subsequently stored in the *Archivum Arcis* in Castel Sant'Angelo.³¹ The material in the *Collectoriae* is of great value, however, in that it provides the names of the inquisitors working in northern Italy at the time of the Templar trial. The only friars listed here that are also mentioned in the records of the Templar inquiry are Giovanni de Pizigotis and Nicolò de Ripatransone, but it is very likely that some of their other colleagues referred to here were involved in the proceedings.³²

In addition to the inquisition, the inquiry was assigned to papally appointed commissions instituted through the bull *Faciens misericordiam* (12th of August 1308) and entrusted with handling the proceedings in specified ecclesiastical provinces or entire nations. In northern Italy the actual start of the inquiry, which was assigned to a commission including Rinaldo da Concorezzo, archbishop of Ravenna, coincided with the sending of a letter from the commissioners to the bishops under their jurisdiction informing them of their assigned role.³³ The letter

²⁹ B. Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (London, 1981), pp. 40–59. For a description of inquisitorial actions, partly in the area studied in this book see G.G. Merlo, *Eretici e inquisitori nella società piemontese del Trecento* (Turin, 1977), pp. 121–148.

³⁰ Biscaro, "Inquisitori", pp. 447–557; Benedetti, "Le parole", pp. 111–182.

³¹ Tommasi, "Interrogatorio", pp. 266–274.

³² Namely, Francesco di Pocapaglia (Cuneo and Chieri), Bonifacio da Faenza (Ferrara, Modena and Reggio), Ruggero da Petriolo (Bologna), Bencio di Alessandria (Alessandria), Pace da Vadano and Marchisio di Brescia (Milan). Some important members of the Templar Order came from Pocapaglia's district. See above, Chapters I and III, pp. 39–40, 101.

³³ Rinaldo had continual and significant contact with the papal court during the pontificates of Boniface VIII and Benedict XI, and may well have met those Templars who were members of the papal entourage in this period. Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 21–94.

was drafted in Bologna on the 13th of September 1309 by Rinaldo himself in cooperation with the archbishop of Pisa and the bishop of Cremona, who, together with the bishop of Florence, made up the commission.³⁴

They thus complied with the requests of Clement V, who, given the inactivity of the Lombard commission, had possibly urged them to act more incisively. In actual fact, even though more than a year had passed since the start of the local inquisitions, the bishops had still not acted directly. This inaction can be explained mainly by the warlike state of Emilia at this time, as well as by the death of one of the commissioners, Lotterio della Tosa, bishop of Florence.³⁵

The commissioners met again on the 21st of September 1309. In all probability this meeting was attended only by Rinaldo and Giovanni, archbishop of Pisa, who arranged for the publication of the papal bulls,³⁶ conferring ample powers on their vicars, Tancredi di Monte Rinaldo and Cambio, by authorising them to take over the confiscated possessions of the Temple and rent them out or sell their produce. The vicars were also given the tasks of retrieving missing possessions, collecting debts and publishing papal bulls in the dioceses. The accounts of their work and that of the people they appointed had to be entered in public inventories.³⁷ It is very likely that two more archiepiscopal vicars, Giovanni da Castiglione, archpriest of Porto Maggiore, and Rainerio Gatti, rector of San Lorenzo in Pisa, were assigned the same roles on this occasion.³⁸

This meeting was the first official act of the Lombardy commission, although preparations for the inquiry had begun with the papal publication of the *Faciens misericordiam*, which outlined the procedures for the arrest and detention of the brethren and specified the interrogation limits.³⁹ The results of the inquiry had to be thoroughly examined by provincial councils in the presence of the inquisitors. Finally, there had to be continuous contact with the papal curia, which urged the utmost

³⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 320, pp. 488–489. A chronicle written in Parma states that Rinaldo went to this city and *alias terras Lombardie* precisely to deal with the trial of the Templars during the summer of 1309. Unfortunately no other document confirms this information. Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 118–119.

³⁵ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 118–119.

³⁶ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 120.

³⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 322, pp. 494–496.

³⁸ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 120–121.

³⁹ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, III, docs. 3584–3585, pp. 363–366.

effort in applying the penalties against anyone who had attempted to aid the Templars.

In the copy of the *Faciens misericordiam* addressed to Rinaldo da Concorezzo⁴⁰ the archbishop is mentioned along with the other commissioners assigned to the inquiry into the Order and its dignitaries in central-northern Italy, these being Giovanni, archbishop of Pisa, Lotterio della Tosa (d. 1309),⁴¹ bishop of Florence, and Rainerio, bishop of Cremona. The archbishop was called on to proceed in the province of Ravenna together with at least one of the other commissioners, even though individual action was not ruled out.⁴²

Another bull, the *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, laid down the criteria for administering the Temple's expropriated property. The bull was to be announced publicly in solemn ceremonies in all churches so that the powers granted to new administrators of the Templar estates were clearly stated and no one would dare stand in their way.⁴³ Then the bull *Regnans in coelis* (12th of August 1308) made reference to the Council of Vienne, where the Templar question was to be resolved.⁴⁴ Concorezzo and the bishops of Faenza, Parma and Modena, amongst others, were invited to attend.⁴⁵

Until August 1308 some of the Lombard Templars were still living their normal lives. This is demonstrated by a transaction carried out in April that year by Umberto da Pigazzano, preceptor of the house of Milan, acting on a mandate issued by none other than Giacomo da Montecucco, who had escaped from prison in France.⁴⁶ In June of the same year, Oddino di San Giorgio, preceptor of Murello, received the rent for a plot of land belonging to the house.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ In the archives of Ravenna there were two copies of this bull, but one of them, published by Rossi, seems to have been lost. *Carte*, I/2, doc. 315, pp. 475–479; Rossi, *Historiarum*, pp. 512–515; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 35, pp. 266–269.

⁴¹ Cf. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, IV, col. 610, note 54; L.G. Cerracchini, *Cronologia sacra dei vescovi di Firenze* (Florence, 1716), pp. 88–91; P.B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae Catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro apostolo*, 2 vols. (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1931, repr. Graz, 1957), I, p. 790.

⁴² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 316, pp. 479–481; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 111, note 2; Tommasi, “Interrogatorio”, p. 280.

⁴³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 314–315, pp. 482–484; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 112, note 5.

⁴⁴ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, III, doc. 3626ff., col. 386ff.

⁴⁵ Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 520.

⁴⁶ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 8, p. 220.

⁴⁷ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini Cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo I, no. 5.

After the issue of the papal bulls in the summer of 1308, the inquisitorial mechanism swung into action. At a meeting in Milan on the 23rd of August 1308, the Dominicans Valentino da Bergamo, Emanuele da Novara, Ottone da Milano and Guglielmo da Genova decided to transcribe the documents destined for the other inquisitors. This action must have been followed rapidly by the taking over of the running of the Templar estate and the arrest of the Templars.⁴⁸

At the end of August Guglielmo Cigala da Genova confiscated the Templar properties in Piacenza, Cremona, Cotrebbia,⁴⁹ Castelnuovo Bocca d'Adda and Fiorenzuola. The houses of Castelnuovo and Fiorenzuola had been plundered. It is not known whether this was done by the Templars themselves as they abandoned the houses or by persons unknown. In many places the brethren did not actually wait until the situation in Italy deteriorated for the Order. In the Piacenza area some of the properties in Montedonico were devastated⁵⁰ and the Order's estate in *villa Sancti Nicolay* was looted and burnt.⁵¹ These acts of vandalism were also probably connected to the political struggle that was taking place in Piacenza.

A new papal bull, again entitled *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam* (3rd of January 1309), ordered that every effort should be put into capturing fleeing Templars, with the threat of excommunication for anyone who aided them.⁵²

In fact the inquisitor Ottone da Milano had already asked to hand three Templars over to the *podestà* of Casale Monferrato. His action even seemed to pre-empt the issue of the inquisitorial bulls, given that it was dated January 1308. The date on the document is clearly legible and the indiction is correct, so the date of the deed is unlikely to have been wrong. It may seem as though the inquisitor had been speeding things up, but in actual fact Ottone's action can be explained by referring to the Templar records stored in the Archivio di Stato in Turin. A copy survives there of the papal bull *Pastoralis Praeeminentie* (22nd of November 1307) that was sent to Amadeus V of Savoy urging the arrest of the Templars and the sequestration of their possessions.⁵³

⁴⁸ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 115–116.

⁴⁹ When taking possession of the property situated *ultra Trebiam*, the inquisitor asked to be accompanied by *fratres* and *ufficiales*. *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 525.

⁵⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, pp. 484–487.

⁵¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533.

⁵² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 321, p. 490; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 118, note 1.

⁵³ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, doc. 34, pp. 265–266; Turin, Archivio di Stato,

In other areas the first confiscations, arrests and administrations of Templar properties were carried out by civil officials. This is what happened in Milan where, as we shall see later on, the Captain of the *popolo* was given this task by the pope.⁵⁴

During this period the commissioners who were to run the inquiry in central-northern Italy were being officially appointed. Giovanni di Pisa was appointed *nuncius* for Tuscany, Lombardy, Dalmatia and Istria⁵⁵ whereas Rinaldo da Concorezzo, along with the bishop of Rimini and in the presence of an inquisitor, identifiable as Vincenzo da Bologna, and the bishops of Cesena and Montefeltro, conducted the investigation into two Templars.⁵⁶ The composition of this commission and the presence of the inquisitor would appear to make it a normal diocesan delegation charged with examining the local Templars, but what is anomalous is that the interrogation of the accused drew not only on the list of questions for the investigation into individual Templars, but also on the list for the inquiry into the Order. Although the same commission could have conducted both inquiries, it is unusual that they were carried out simultaneously. Perhaps this choice was a result of the pressure exerted by Clement V to get the proceedings moving quickly.⁵⁷

The answers given by the two Templars, Andrea da Siena, a sergeant, and Giovanni da Todi, a priest, are particularly significant, since they are the only surviving Templar depositions in the whole of northern Italy. What is more, Andrea had also attended an admission into the Order in the house of Cerro, which is in the region being studied in this book.⁵⁸

Both Giovanni and Andrea vehemently denied any wrongdoing, admitting only to digressions of little importance or declaring, as the priest did, that the Order's most serious transgression was that of pride. They both defended the Temple with great conviction, stressing that people subject to torture or afraid of being tortured would admit to anything. Andrea declared that he had ceased wearing the habit after hearing that his brethren had been persecuted and killed. In his opinion

Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini Cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo I, no. 6.

⁵⁴ Tommasi, "I Templari in Italia", col. 900.

⁵⁵ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 118.

⁵⁶ Tommasi, "Interrogatorio", pp. 274–298.

⁵⁷ Tommasi, "Interrogatorio", pp. 281–282.

⁵⁸ Tommasi, "Interrogatorio", p. 293.

it was no coincidence that the attacks made on the Order came from brethren that had been expelled from it.⁵⁹

These depositions help us to understand the attitude of the Templars of North-west Italy to the trial. It is not unlikely that most of the brethren investigated in this area took similar positions to that of Giovanni and Andrea.

Unfortunately, there is no further information on the actions of the bishop of Cremona after 1309. He no longer appears in the trial records and no mention of the proceedings he initiated against the Templars can be found in the Cremona documents. It could well be that by this time he was already intending to renounce the task, given that he had not appointed his vicar, at least not according to the surviving documents. His bishopric was also marked by deep internal strife, which forced him to stay away from Cremona for quite a long time. It may be that the absence from his see and the efforts put into imposing his authority on Cremona had resulted in his lack of interest in the Templar question.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, the archiepiscopal vicars appointed by Giovanni di Pisa and Rinaldo da Concorezzo were busy covering their region.⁶¹ They had Clement V's measures publicly announced in the various cities and thoroughly scrutinised the administration of the inquisitors, taking over the running of the Templar houses.

After visiting the houses of Bologna, Modena and Parma, the archiepiscopal vicars went to Piacenza and Cremona where, at the end of November, the inquisitor Guglielmo Cigala da Genoa had the inventories of the estates of the two houses drawn up. They were written between the 20th and 24th of November,⁶² whereas the bulls announcing the trial had already been published in Piacenza on the 11th of the same month⁶³ and in Cremona on the 23rd.⁶⁴ This was the very day that the Cremona inventory was consigned to the archiepiscopal

⁵⁹ Tommasi, "Interrogatorio", pp. 292–293.

⁶⁰ Rainerio de Casoli was elected bishop in 1296 as a result of the intervention of Boniface VIII, whose chaplain he was, and ran the diocese mostly through vicars. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II/2, pp. 144–145; Tantardini, "I Templari", p. 285.

⁶¹ This corresponded to the ecclesiastical provinces of Milan, Ravenna, Aquileia and Faenza. See Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, tab. 4.

⁶² *Carte*, I/2, docs. 331–332, pp. 514–534; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 42, pp. 286–287.

⁶³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 333, pp. 534–535.

⁶⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 330, pp. 513–514.

vicars, with the Piacenza inventory getting to them the next day.⁶⁵ The inquisitor had put a lot of effort into administering the Temple's properties. On a number of occasions he travelled by boat from one town to the other, staying overnight in a hospice. His report also contains several expense entries related to the detention of the Templars (for example, money spent *custodibus carcerum, pro reparando domum ubi stant (...) et aliis necessitatibus Templariorum, per cosituram mantelli fratris Bernabonis*). Of particular interest are the comments on the Templars while in detention. The inquisitor's report recalls Giacomo Fontana, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, who in August 1308, when he was evidently not yet in detention, was robbed and beaten. After this attack, which culminated in the looting and burning down of his house, he was ill for a year. The considerable sum of a hundred gold florins was spent on his treatment, taken from the money that had been sequestered from Giacomo himself.⁶⁶ Also amongst the detainees was his relative, Raimondo. Finally, the inventory stated that other Templars were given grain and listed the expenses for the detention of three brethren imprisoned in Cremona.⁶⁷ Some houses needed to be repaired because of neglect and damage.⁶⁸ Cigala's action appears to have been thorough and conscientious, bent on protecting the property assigned to him in the best possible way, but also on assisting and carefully tending to the needs of the Templar brethren placed in his custody.

Subsequently Giovanni da Castiglione and Rainerio Gatti went to Bergamo, where they announced the papal bulls,⁶⁹ and Milan, where Clement V had assigned the task of running the Templar estates to Guidone della Torre, captain of the *popolo*. As in the previous cases, the accounts of this administration were positively balanced.⁷⁰ The Milan inventory drawn up by *dominus* Martino de Fara, who had supervised the management of the Templar estate in person, made no explicit references to either the location or type of the Temple's properties.

⁶⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 334, pp. 536–537.

⁶⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 523, 530.

⁶⁷ The account of the expenses is in *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 519–523, doc. 332, pp. 525–532. Two *fratres* were sent from here to Bergamo, but it is not known whether they belonged to the Temple. *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 522.

⁶⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 519–520, doc. 332, p. 525.

⁶⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 335, pp. 537–538.

⁷⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 336, pp. 539–542.

They were, however, *omnes et singulas terras, possessiones et domos pertinentes et spectantes domui que appellatur domus milicie Templi de Mediolano*. One of the few mentions of the kind of crops farmed refers to a number of vineyards, whereas the *mansio*'s income came mainly from the sale of hay, vegetables, wheat and other products. Martino then listed the moveable assets found in the Milanese Templar house, including a number of liturgical books and some relics.⁷¹

On leaving Milan the archiepiscopal vicars went to Tortona where, after publishing the papal bulls,⁷² they received the report and, above all, the complaints of Filippo de Cumis, *inquisitor in Lombardia et Marcha Januensi*.⁷³ Filippo had supervised the Tortona and Casei Gerola houses, encountering considerable difficulties. The inquisitor had done his utmost to complete his task *postpositis omnibus periculis que pluries usque ad mortem fere passus est*.⁷⁴ In Tortona and Casei Gerola the administration of the Templar properties was put into the hands of Rufino,⁷⁵ *nuncius* of the inquisitor Filippo, collector of rents and payments and preceptor of the local Hospitaller house. This is the only example in North-west Italy of Hospitallers being directly responsible for running Templar properties, before they were actually transferred from one order to the other.⁷⁶ Going against Rufino's instructions, the lessees of Casei had kept some produce for an unidentified priest who resided in the Templar church.⁷⁷ It has been suggested that this priest was a presbyter of the Order, but it is improbable that a Templar brother would not have been imprisoned in this period. What seems more likely, on the basis of other references to other priests in Templar churches, is that he was called on to officiate in this place of worship which had been abandoned.⁷⁸ Filippo then failed to collect the annuities from a number of tenants and the revenue from the sale of some produce.⁷⁹ In the same way, *dominus* Pagano de Ripalta, *olim pedagerius*, had not paid

⁷¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 336, p. 541.

⁷² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 338, pp. 543–544.

⁷³ *Carte*, I/2, docs. 339–340, pp. 545–554.

⁷⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 546.

⁷⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 546, doc. 340, p. 547.

⁷⁶ For the Hospitaller house of Tortona see Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 699–722. Bono, the master of the Hospital, appears as representative of the Bologna clergy at the second council of Ravenna in 1311. Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, doc. 45, p. 293.

⁷⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 550, 552.

⁷⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 529, doc. 340, pp. 552, 553, doc. 350, p. 585.

⁷⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 585, doc. 340, p. 551.

in the sums he was assigned to collect.⁸⁰ There had also been thefts of straw and hay.⁸¹

In Tortona, too, difficulties were encountered in the administration. As well as problems in collecting rent, it was noted in the inventory that a notary from Pavia who had come to Tortona to draw up some deeds had been beaten and had to stay in the town for eighteen days.⁸² Other expense entries refer to the repair of the Templar houses.⁸³ One of the Templar detainees mentioned was Giacomo, preceptor of Tortona, for whom some money was spent on food, clothes, footwear and other items. Actions such as this were also explained by the fact that the preceptor had the support of the local commune. A messenger was sent to Milan to seek advice on this difficult predicament.⁸⁴

In December 1309 Giovanni da Castiglione was replaced by Rogerio da Milano, rector of Santa Maria della Scaletta in Pavia and a relative of Concorezzo.⁸⁵ He was called on to perform the same tasks as his predecessor and, shortly after his appointment, the bulls of the trial were published in Pavia.⁸⁶ It could be that, in resorting to a clergyman from a church in Pavia, Rinaldo aimed to overcome the difficulties that had hampered the work of the inquisitors in this area. The report on the Order's moveable assets in Pavia was consigned at the end of December.⁸⁷ The inventory of the possessions and expenditure of the houses of Torricella Verzate and Pavia, this also drawn up by Filippo de Cumis, dates from the same period.⁸⁸ Here too, Filippo was caused considerable difficulties by *rebelles homines et inobedientes officio Inquisitoris*.⁸⁹ He reached the point of initiating proceedings against these persons but achieved no results. In this document Filippo also noted that he had been compelled to censure some tenants of San Guglielmo in Pavia for not having paid their duty. Further, the wine production was damaged⁹⁰ and capturing Siclerio, the preceptor of Torricella Verzate, proved

⁸⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 551.

⁸¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 578. The same document notes that other items and possessions were taken too.

⁸² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 551.

⁸³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 552–553.

⁸⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 551.

⁸⁵ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 46, p. 294.

⁸⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 351, pp. 586–587.

⁸⁷ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 43, pp. 287–289.

⁸⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 568–586.

⁸⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 577, 583–584.

⁹⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 577–578.

difficult, requiring the mobilisation of twenty-five armed men. It could be that the preceptor had decided to defend himself and, if so, this would be the only mention in the sources of Templars resisting arrest. Filippo made arrests in Tortona, Alessandria and Casei as well. He had sent two messengers to Tortona and Piacenza with orders to arrest the preceptor of Tortona and another Templar.⁹¹ Also, at *Verzarius*, where there was a stud farm, one of the horses was missing and the inquisitor had the rest of them sold for fear of them being stolen.⁹² To add to these repeated acts of vandalism and robbery, there was also the fact that part of the woods belonging to the house had been laid to waste.⁹³ The inquisitor had then tried either to encourage the recovery of the possessions that had been taken or to act directly to retrieve them.⁹⁴ In December 1309, *omnes possessiones, afflictus, vineas, terras, ortos et domos manssionis, domus et preceptorie Milicie Templi predicti de Verzario Placentine diocesis et districtus civitatis Papie* were rented by the archiepiscopal vicars and the tenants were also called on to reacquire the usurped properties belonging to the Temple.⁹⁵

The connivance with the Templars that seemed to exist in some parts of the Pavia area is also shown by the fact that Filippo himself considered the possibility of releasing the detained brethren *pro fideiussione* and dismissing their guards, as requested by the communes of Pavia and Tortona. There were also written protests in favour of the Templars from the Pavia authorities, both lay and ecclesiastical.⁹⁶ Filippo's position was thus anything but easy and this explains why he had to revert to seeking advice from other inquisitors in Milan and Crema.⁹⁷

Finding ways of responding effectively to these acts of resistance was another reason for the inquisitors to meet frequently and keep in constant touch with the pope. They met in Bergamo to draft a missive to send to the pope.⁹⁸ The answers to the questions they raised were read in Pavia,⁹⁹ but clearly these explanations were insufficient.

⁹¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 579–580.

⁹² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 580.

⁹³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 583.

⁹⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 582.

⁹⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 353, p. 590.

⁹⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 583.

⁹⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 582–583.

⁹⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 526.

⁹⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 527. For the *consilia* between inquisitors see Benedetti, “Le parole”, pp. 131–133.

Fr. Bencio was then sent to the papal court and the replies he was given were listened to at a meeting in Crema.¹⁰⁰ The inquisitors had another occasion to meet and discuss in Milan, were they consulted a judge *pro consilio habendo super litteris per comarlungum domini Papa Inquisitori missis*.¹⁰¹

Perhaps the inquisitor sent to Liguria met with similar difficulties, given that he went directly to Avignon, taking his reports with him, and then stayed at the curia for no less than two months seeking advice.¹⁰² Resorting to papal authority, local legal advisers, procurators and *sapientes*,¹⁰³ was not new to the inquisitors and underlines how they found themselves encountering not only opposition to their measures that was motivated either by a certain degree of sympathy for the Temple or the desire to seize their possessions, but also a resistance based on rights, more or less well grounded, of a legal nature. The use of spies,¹⁰⁴ working together with the inquisitorial officials, was common practice in these inquiries. These spies, both men and women, could have been members of the inquisitor's *familia* and also performed a variety of other tasks.¹⁰⁵

The officials attempted to meet these various challenges by acting in a united way on the basis of both papal directives and expert legal advice. A more direct incentive to having their resolutions obeyed, for example, was to rent out Templar properties at a certain sum, which would not be increased even if additional Templar property was recovered by the tenant.¹⁰⁶

In some cases it was the owners of the properties rented to the Templars who took the initiative. The monastery of Caramagna had been renting some plots of land to the Templar house of Murello since 1286. In March 1310, noting that the house was not being run by the Templars and the rent had not been paid for three years, the Abbess decided to have the lands farmed again.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 527–528. Unfortunately, as only the expenses incurred for attending these meetings are noted in the inventories, the dates cannot be established.

¹⁰¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 583. For a reference to *nuncios domini Pape* see *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 552.

¹⁰² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 349, p. 583.

¹⁰³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 349, p. 583, doc. 331, p. 521; Benedetti, “Le parole”, pp. 130–131.

¹⁰⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 579.

¹⁰⁵ Benedetti, “Le parole”, p. 146ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 353, pp. 589–591.

¹⁰⁷ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini Cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo I, no. 7.

The task of the inquisitor Ottone, who handed over the administration accounts of the Novara,¹⁰⁸ Vercelli, Casale Monferrato, Livorno Ferraris and Ivrea houses to the archiepiscopal vicars on the 29th of January 1310, was simpler. He too had been engaged *recuperatione bonorum dictarum mansionum* and in the supervision *fratrum Templariorum captorum* and the accounts of his administration was consistently positively balanced.¹⁰⁹ After receiving these accounts, the vicars travelled all over Piedmont announcing the papal bulls.¹¹⁰

Given that the provincial inquiries had been going on for some time and seemed unlikely to conclude quickly, Clement V issued the bull *Alma mater ecclesia* in April 1310 which postponed the Council of Vienne.¹¹¹

In order to keep track of subsequent developments in the inquiry we have to refer almost exclusively to records from the ecclesiastical province of Ravenna. Of these we shall mainly be looking at documents that concern the Piacenza area. In November 1310 Rinaldo da Concorezzo notified the inquisitors under his jurisdiction of a provincial synod that was to take place in Ravenna on the 13th of January 1311.¹¹² Identical notices were sent to the bishops in the archbishopric of Ravenna, who were told to appoint representatives for the provincial assize and to discuss the questions included in the subject matter of the assembly.¹¹³ In all probability the council started on the set date¹¹⁴ and was well-attended by the Romagna and Emilia clergy.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately,

¹⁰⁸ The bulls of the trial were published in Novara on the 17th of January 1310. *Carte*, I/2, doc. 341, pp. 555–556.

¹⁰⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 342, pp. 556–558.

¹¹⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 343, pp. 558–559, docs. 345–349, pp. 561–566; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 44, pp. 289–290.

¹¹¹ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 137.

¹¹² A first provincial meeting was probably held at the end of 1309. Nothing is known about it. Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 124–125.

¹¹³ Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 522 ff.; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 138–140. The mistaken dating of this council to 1310 is probably due to a printing error in the 1589 edition of Rossi's work. *Carte*, I/1, pp. CVI–CVII; R. Caravita, "Il primo dei due concili provinciali ravennati sui Templari", in *Atti del XVII Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 2000), p. 80.

¹¹⁴ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 141; Caravita, "Il primo dei due concili", pp. 81–87.

¹¹⁵ For a list of the bishops attending this assize see Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 139–140. None of the records note the presence of clerics from the Piacenza area. For the debate over the nature of the second assize (whether it was the second session of the same council or a second provincial council) see Caravita, "Il primo dei due concili", pp. 80–81.

no records of this assembly have survived, but it seems certain that the Templar question was discussed during the proceedings. The discussion must have been quite complex as the participants were unable to reach a unanimous decision in this first council. The matter must have been discussed in detail, though, as they managed to come to an agreement quickly in the subsequent council.¹¹⁶ In the convocations for a new assize Rinaldo specified that in the council that had just ended all the items were not discussed. The work of the council was adjourned to a second meeting to be held on the 1st of June, then postponed for two weeks.¹¹⁷ The Templars of the province were summoned to the meeting by Rinaldo so that they could hear their sentence.¹¹⁸

The second council also probably began on the date set.¹¹⁹ Again, it was attended by the bishops from the province of Ravenna, representatives of local church bodies and the inquisitors. The Templar question was dealt with by examining the results of the diocesan inquiries brought to Ravenna at Rinaldo's request. The examination of these documents was to be followed by a hearing with the Templars, who were to be brought into the city under guard.¹²⁰

Unfortunately, there are no documents describing what occurred in this initial stage of the proceedings, but the preamble to the discussion must have been quite short, as the hearing with the Templars began on the 17th of June. Information on the proceedings on this date has reached us in the form of a summary of the depositions made by seven brethren from Piacenza:¹²¹ Raimondo and Giacomo Fontana, Giacomo, Alberto, Mauro and Guglielmo da Pigazzano and Guglielmo Caccia, who were interrogated using the list of questions appended to the *Faciens misericordiam*. Speaking under oath the accused answered all the questions put to them, denying all allegations and contradicting the

¹¹⁶ Caravita, "Il primo dei due concili", p. 87.

¹¹⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 359, pp. 600–601; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 141–142. For the preparatory synods for this second council see *ibid.*, pp. 142–145.

¹¹⁸ Caravita, "Il primo dei due concili", pp. 90–91.

¹¹⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 368, pp. 614–615; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 145; Caravita, "Il primo dei due concili", pp. 87–88.

¹²⁰ Caravita notes that amongst the bishops attending must have been the bishops of Montefeltro and Rimini, who took part in the Cesena inquiry, and the bishop of Piacenza, who intervened with regard to the investigation into the Templars from Piacenza. Caravita, "Il primo dei due concili", p. 88.

¹²¹ The documents in our possession may be incomplete, given that the inquisitors' inventories talk of eight Templars probably referring to the house of Piacenza.

depositions made against them.¹²² The fact that there were depositions against the Temple shows that the chorus of voices in favour of the Order was not unanimous and makes the final decisions of this council even more significant. As well as the Piacenza Templars, five brethren from Bologna and one from Faenza were also heard.¹²³ These too rejected all accusations, making a favourable impression on prelates who probably thought it unlikely that they were guilty. According to the preliminary statement of Rinaldo da Concorezzo, all the Templars detained in the province of Ravenna had to be heard in this session. Unfortunately, we know for sure that only thirteen of the brethren held were cross-examined and there is no accurate transcription of their statements.

Meanwhile, those taking part in the council were tending to view the Templars as innocent, despite the opposition of the Dominican inquisitors. Rinaldo obtained a unanimous consensus that the inquiry had been fairly conducted but, whereas the bishops present thought it was unnecessary to carry out further investigations, the inquisitors Niccolò de Ripatransone and Giovanni de Pizigotis felt that the examination of the Templars should be prolonged and that torture should be used to obtain more truthful depositions. Rinaldo then asked if the pope's opinion should be sought immediately and the assize made to wait for the Council of Vienne. The council was not going to be held for quite a long time and, quite correctly, this decision has been seen as an attempt to make things easier for the Templars.¹²⁴ Then Concorezzo and the prelates meeting in Ravenna went much further than this by passing a declaration of great importance, not only as regards the inquiry into the Templars, but on the use of coercive methods in inquisitorial trials in general. They declared categorically that "those who confessed for fear of torture should be considered innocent if they subsequently withdrew their confessions, as should those not having the courage to retract for fear of torture and further punishment".¹²⁵ Therefore, in their opinion, not only was the use of torture not admitted, but the innocence of those who had wrongly confessed to guilt for fear of torture was recognised. Also considered innocent were those not having the courage to retract their admissions when faced with the prospect of further torture. From

¹²² Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 525 ff.

¹²³ Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 526.

¹²⁴ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 149.

¹²⁵ Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 526.

this point of view, the Council of Ravenna confirmed a juridical principle of great worth, which, however, was long to remain unheeded.¹²⁶

To confirm the impartiality of the way this question was dealt with, the council came to the conclusion that the Templars could not be acquitted immediately but should be subject to a *purgatio*. The prelates meeting in Ravenna made no comment on the innocence of the Order. The council did, however, stress that the question was not whether some members of the Order were guilty of committing the alleged acts, but whether the majority of the Templars were innocent or not.

After the council Rinaldo da Concorezzo decided on the terms of the compurgations. The *purgatio* was a legal procedure by which an individual suspected of having committed acts of heresy or other crimes, but who had not confessed and whose guilt had not been proven, could clear his or her name by making a public oath. What was said in the oath had to be confirmed by a certain number of witnesses (*testes compurgantes*). Generally, this oath had to be made within a year of a court order, but in this case Rinaldo set a time limit of forty days.¹²⁷ He also requested that the Templars should comply with the procedure voluntarily.¹²⁸ The number of *testes compurgantes* was to be seven, including both clergy and laymen but no members of the Temple. Usually depositions were requested from members of the same order, but the procedure had to be changed in this case because it was the whole of the Temple that was being accused. As part of the oath the Templars were called on to refute the charges made against them.

The documents in our possession include a report of the compurgations made on the 5th of July 1311 by Raimondo and Giacomo Fontana and Mauro da Pigazzano before Guidotto de Arcellis, vicar general of the bishop of Piacenza, Ugo.¹²⁹ Each of the surviving statements were signed by twelve *testes compurgantes*. The choice of witnesses is particularly significant. The network of interwoven relations between the Order and local society becomes even more apparent on examining

¹²⁶ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 151–152.

¹²⁷ In all probability Rinaldo wanted to bring the proceedings against the Templars to a conclusion as soon as possible. Caravita, “La «purgazione»”, p. 13.

¹²⁸ Caravita hypothesises that maybe Rinaldo wanted to wait for the resolution of the Council of Vienne before issuing further sanctions against those not subject to the compurgation, perhaps basing his judgment on the favourable sentence on the Temple proclaimed in the council. Caravita, “La «purgazione»”, p. 13.

¹²⁹ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, pp. 298–307; Caravita, “La «purgazione»”, pp. 20–24.

the list of witnesses called to testify on behalf of its members. Amongst these, as well as members of the noble Fontana family, both clergy and lay, we also find an abbot, clergymen from the Humiliati order, the Hospital, canons and monks. Amongst the laymen were a notary, a knight, a *miles et iudex* and a *medicus*.¹³⁰ One of Giacomo Fontana's witnesses was Rogerio Caccia, probably a relative of the Templar Pietro and canon and provost of the church of San Giovanni de Viculo, identifiable as the master of law and chaplain of Boniface VIII of the same name.¹³¹ Equally significant was the presence of Guidotto de Arcellis, from a lineage that was linked to the Fontanas, who had previously judged two cases in Brescia that went in favour of the Order.¹³²

¹³⁰ *Testes compurgantes* of Raimondo Fontana: dompnus Thomas de Fontana abbas, dompnus Jacobus de Pontenure, dompnus Lanfranchus Taxus, dompnus Antonius de Fontana, monachus monasterii Sancti Sepulcri Placentie, frater Obertus Blanchus, minister Domus Humiliatorum de Sancto Raymundo Placentie, frater Guillelmus Vespa, frater Domus Humiliatorum de Sancto Raymundo Placentie, presbiter Stephanus de Monticellii, prebendarius ecclesie Sancti Nazarii de Stratalevata, dominus Guillelmus vicedominus de Sunexio, miles et iudex, magister Jacobus de Burgo, medicus, Guillelmus vicedominus de Boso, Nicolaus Buffa, Obertus Germanus, notarius (Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 303).

Testes compurgantes of Giacomo Fontana: dominus Rogerius Cacia, canonicus Placentinus et prepositus ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Viculo, dominus Bertholinus de Malino, prepositus ecclesie Sancti Johannis de domo Placentie, frater Andreas, prior ecclesie Santi Maphei, presbiter Janonus, rector ecclesie Santi Gervaxii, Jacobus Maniabos, canonicus Plebis de Polegnano, dominus Jacobus de Rizalo, rector Hospitalis Montis de Lamia, dominus Albertacius de Vicedominis, miles, dominus Johannes de Acerbo de Fontana, dominus Ghislerius de Bonifacio comes, dominus Albertus de Fontana dictus Clavarius, Nicolaus de Fontana dictus Zagnus, Philippus de Vicedomini de Surrexio (Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 305).

Testes compurgantes of Mauro da Pigazzano: reverendus vir dominus Jacobus Silvagnus, archidiaconus Placentinus, dominus Johannes de Suzis, prepositus ecclesie Sante Brigide Placentie, presbiter Bernardus Arianus, canonicus dicte ecclesie Sancte Brigide, presbiter Guillelmus Ratus, canonicus dicte ecclesie Sancte Brigide, dominus Serenus, monachus monasterii Sancti Systi, dompnus Jacobus de Villanova, monachus monasterii Sancti Systi, presbiter Lanfranchus, rector ecclesie Sancti Nazarii, presbiter Stephanus, cappellanus monasterii Sancti Sepulcri, frater Petrus, minister Hospitalis Sancte Marie de Burgheto, Johannes Stagnarius, Jacobus de Mazinaxio, Guimerius vicedominus, filius domini Alberici (Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 307).

¹³¹ *Carte*, I/2, docs. 289–290, pp. 441–446; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, pp. 305; Caravita, “«La purgazione»”, pp. 19–20.

¹³² See above, pp. 175–176. These testimonies also show that, despite the aforementioned problems, the Templars could still rely on some support in Piacenza, and this is a possible reason why members of the da Pigazzano family, who had probably been active in Milan and Central Italy, came here to be tried.

Clement V, by no means satisfied with these results, turned his attentions to the members of the commission of inquiry and ordered that more exacting and severe examination methods be used in Lombardy and Tuscany, including torture.¹³³ The archbishop of Pisa and the bishop of Florence obeyed the papal orders, whereas Rinaldo da Concorezzo abided by the conclusions of the provincial council. Later he took part in the Council of Vienne where all the Italian prelates, except one, were in favour of granting the Templars the possibility to defend themselves.¹³⁴

We do not know how the inquiry proceeded in the other ecclesiastical provinces in North-west Italy. The only documents we have refer to the presence of the master of the local Templar house in the episcopal curia in Ivrea, in 1311. He seems to have been free to come and go and was well received by the bishop. On the 11th of March 1311 Guglielmo di Alessandria *ordinis Templariorum* was named as a witness in a deed of the bishop, Alberto. On the 3rd of June in the same year Guglielmo Rubeo di Alessandria described this time as *preceptor domus sancti Naçari de Yporegia*, attended two investitures, again ordered by the bishop.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know whether Guglielmo was still awaiting trial or whether he had been subject to investigation by a provincial council.

3. *Depositions of Templars from North-west Italy tried in the rest of Italy, France and Cyprus*

No coercive methods were used in the inquiry in Cyprus and here too none of the brothers interrogated admitted to the offences confessed to by their brethren who had been subject to intimidation and torture.¹³⁶ Amongst the brethren on the island there were several members of the Order from North-west Italy.

¹³³ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, VI, docs. 7527–7528, p. 439.

¹³⁴ E. Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne. 1311–1312. Seine Quellen und seine Geschichte* (Münster i. W., 1934), pp. 666, 675; Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, RIS 11 (Milan, 1727), col. 1236. For a list of the bishops present at Vienne see Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, p. 305. For this council see also S. Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 235–240, 279 ff.

¹³⁵ Ivrea, Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, Protocollo VIII.3.310/320, fols. 6^v, 10^{r-v}.

¹³⁶ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 24–41.

Guglielmo de Garent, for example, denied that heretical practices had occurred during his admission into the Order, which had been attended by Guglielmo di Canelli, Giacomo di Bosco, Gerardo Acquarrelli di Alessandria and the chaplain Giacomo da Piacenza.¹³⁷ The same thing was denied by Francesco da Genova, a sergeant of the Temple, admitted in Dalmatia.¹³⁸ Identical testimony was given by Nicola da Montecucco,¹³⁹ *miles* of the Temple, admitted at the house of Asti by his brother Giacomo, preceptor of Lombardy. Also present at his admission were Ottone di San Giorgio, probably a member of the noble Biandrate family, and Raimondo de Canetis.¹⁴⁰ No heretical practices could be recalled by Pietro Cadelli from *Castro Gyra* in Provence, who perhaps originated from the Montferrat area and was admitted into the Order in Venice by Guglielmo de Noves in the presence of Busco di Alessandria, Riccardo di Amoroso and Pietro da Bologna.¹⁴¹ Bartolomeo da Cremona and Geniso da Cremena (probably a misspelt version of Cremona)¹⁴² had attended other orthodox admissions.

So, the Templars active in Cyprus who originated from North Italy were unaware of any blasphemous practices in the Order and stressed their belief in the Order's original Rule and its commitment to defending the faith. The instances of protested innocence referred to above were confirmed by the depositions of numerous non-Templar witnesses, both lay and clergy. Whilst admitting that there was a certain degree of secrecy in the Order's practices, they put great emphasis on the abnegation of its members in defence of the Christian faith.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 174–175, 256–260; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 90–91, 203–208.

¹³⁸ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 191, 320–323; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 115–116, 286–288.

¹³⁹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 198–199, 341–343; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 125–127, 321–327.

¹⁴⁰ This could be a member of the Canelli family or, much more likely, an Iberian Templar. *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 126, note 283.

¹⁴¹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 209; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 140–141, 367–370. He is also mentioned in *Croniques d'Amadi*, p. 287.

¹⁴² Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 186; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 109. The Cypriot records mention a certain Ymberta de Cremena, who, because of a transcription error, may not be a *soror* of the Temple, but the Templar Humbert de Cremi o Crimen, mentioned in the trial in France. *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 110, note 203; *Le procès*, II, pp. 352, 366; Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang* II, pp. 359–360; Tommasi, *Uomini e donne*, p. 196, note 79.

¹⁴³ See above, Chapter I, p. 56.

In France the testimonies of the Templars from North Italy, who had been subjected to torture and deprivation, were exactly the opposite to those in Cyprus. A typical example of this is the case of Pietro da Bologna, procurator-general of the Order. Even though his holding of this office is only documented during the papacy of Boniface VIII, in all probability he was still at the papal court in 1307. When arrested at the beginning of the campaign against the Templars, Pietro confessed fully to heretical practices in the Order, stating that he had been admitted by Guglielmo de Noves in Bologna through a blasphemous ritual.¹⁴⁴ The confessions of this dignitary must have had significant repercussions throughout the inquiry, as they appeared to reveal the Order's manifest guilt.

Another Italian Templar arrested in France was Albertino di Canelli who, like Pietro da Bologna, was part of the pope's entourage. In Paris in 1311 Albertino, one of Benedict XI's porters and *preceptor balive Sicilie*, declared that he had been admitted by his relative Guglielmo, preceptor of Lombardy, at the Templar house of Asti.¹⁴⁵ In the presence of a number of brethren from the Piedmont area, and probably at least one other relative, Albertino had spat on the cross of a mantle of the Order. He had subsequently confessed all to a papal confessor, who had asked him if he had informed the pope of what had happened. On Albertino's disclosure that he had not, the confessor had acquitted him anyway.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, after this deposition there is no further news of this brother and we do not know what happened to him.

The depositions made by the Templars from North-west Italy in the Tuscany inquiry, where torture was used, follow the same lines. The confessions were similar to those made by their brethren in France. According to these testimonies, not only were a number of Templars from North-west Italy involved in heretical practices, but they actually actively encouraged them. The same things were said in the depositions made by the Templars interrogated in Abruzzi and the papal state. The same provincial masters that were described as orthodox in the Cypriot depositions were described as heretics in the Italian testimonies, with the sole exception of Uguccione di Vercelli. Bianco da Pigazzano, for example, had attended the allegedly heretical admission

¹⁴⁴ *Le procès*, II, pp. 348–350.

¹⁴⁵ *Le procès*, I, pp. 424–428.

¹⁴⁶ *Le procès*, I, p. 427.

of Bernardo da Parma¹⁴⁷ and other brethren in Piacenza.¹⁴⁸ Later, he had admitted Gerardo and Pietro da Piacenza into the Order in the Piacenza church of Santa Maria del Tempio.¹⁴⁹ At the end of the ceremony they were both apparently compelled by the provincial master and other brethren to renounce Christ.¹⁵⁰ Bianco also was said to have a wooden idol that the Templars used to worship during the chapters.¹⁵¹ Bianco da Pigazzano had also admitted Pietro Valentini in Santa Maria all'Aventino, yet again seemingly encouraging blasphemous practices.¹⁵² Similar offences were allegedly committed by Guglielmo de Noves, who had presided over a number of admissions of a heterodox nature.¹⁵³ Following this, Guglielmo di Canelli is said to have led a chapter in which the Templars worshipped a head-shaped idol.¹⁵⁴ Only Uguccione di Vercelli was never named in relation to heterodox practices. It was his subordinates who apparently obliged candidates to renounce Christ and worship idols, and these practices never occurred in the presence of this dignitary.¹⁵⁵ His successor, Giacomo da Montecucco, however, played a much less marginal role in these matters, and, before becoming provincial master, is said to have led blasphemous ceremonies,¹⁵⁶ persevering in these erroneous ways during his mastership.¹⁵⁷

A number of provincial masters' lieutenants, such the vicars Raimondo, Isnardo, Bartolomeo di Modena and Moro,¹⁵⁸ were said to have committed the same errors. Giorgio,¹⁵⁹ the vicar of Uguccione di Vercelli, and Pietro da Bologna¹⁶⁰ were also said to have acted in the same way. The vicar Giacomo di Bologna was even said to have

¹⁴⁷ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 470 ff.

¹⁴⁸ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 466.

¹⁴⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 189.

¹⁵⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 190–192.

¹⁵¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 193.

¹⁵² *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 203.

¹⁵³ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 462, 465, 469, 481, 485; *Le procès*, II, pp. 239, 348.

¹⁵⁴ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 474.

¹⁵⁵ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 132, 173, 215, 250, 251.

¹⁵⁶ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 465.

¹⁵⁷ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 478, 479, 486.

¹⁵⁸ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 479–480, 491; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 132, 133, 202, 203, 207. This brother could be identifiable as Moro or Mauro da Pigazzano, formerly preceptor of Pavia and Casei Gerola (1285). He was probably the same Moro da Pigazzano arrested and subject to compurgation in Piacenza.

¹⁵⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 215.

¹⁶⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 132.

been a sodomite.¹⁶¹ In contrast to them the papal marshal Giacomo, on becoming aware of the alleged corruption of the Order, had abandoned it,¹⁶² and two *milites*, who had escaped to avoid having to submit to such practices, were arrested and died in prison.¹⁶³

As well as the higher-ranking dignitaries, a number of other Templars from North-west Italy were said to have witnessed or taken part in heretical meetings. Niccolò da Reggio stated that his heretical admission in the presence of Guglielmo de Noves was also attended by Pagano, preceptor of the Brescia *mansio*.¹⁶⁴ The admission of Lanfranco di Fiorenzuola too had several witnesses, including Alberto de la Marotta, probably the preceptor of the house of Brescia, and Valsazio da Pavia. Lanfranco was also said to have taken part in the admission of Giovanni di Pavia in the *domus de Berzale*.¹⁶⁵ Bernardo di Parma, allegedly admitted heretically by Bianco da Pigazzano in the presence of Francesco di Pavia and Alberico di Albornasco, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, stated that Rufino, from the Alessandria district, had spoken of more illicit practices involving Michelone da Pavia,¹⁶⁶ Giovanni de Vinti, from the Asti area, and Giovanni di Castell'Arquato.¹⁶⁷ The Tuscany depositions named other Templars from North-west Italy, such as Ubertino de Cavelle (perhaps *Caselle* = Casei Gerola, but it could also be Canelli, sometimes written by mistake as *Carelle* or *Cavelle*,¹⁶⁸ and in this case he could be identifiable as Albertino di Canelli), Pagano and Giovanni da Brescia, Domenico di Montedonico¹⁶⁹ and the presbyter Francesco di Pavia,¹⁷⁰ all seemingly guilty of denying the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Also definitely from the area studied in this book were Rolando Lombardo di Torino, noted in the trial records together with Alberto Lombardo di Piacenza, Alberto di Castell'Arquato and, perhaps, Omodeo Lombardo.¹⁷¹

¹⁶¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 193.

¹⁶² Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 485.

¹⁶³ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 466–467.

¹⁶⁴ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 478, 486.

¹⁶⁵ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

¹⁶⁶ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 470–471.

¹⁶⁷ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 474.

¹⁶⁸ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 474.

¹⁶⁹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 478.

¹⁷⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 479.

¹⁷¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 193, 250–254, 256, 260. The Templar Guglielmo de Pedemontis was perhaps from North Italy. *Ibid.*, pp. 173–176, 178–179, 181–183.

With the single exception of Cyprus, the depositions made by Templars originating from North-west Italy, and tried by commissions other than that presided over by Rinaldo da Concorezzo, are diametrically opposed to those made by the members of the Order investigated in the area under the archbishop of Ravenna, and paint a picture of life in the houses of North-west Italy that was in no way compatible with the declarations of their brethren. Except for Ugucione di Vercelli, the very same provincial dignitaries were both accused of committing blasphemous acts and described as providing orthodox leadership to those under their command. It is impossible not to note this stark contrast.¹⁷² Recent studies are tending to play down the influence of intimidation and coercive methods in the Templars' confessions, but the use of torture by the inquisitors on brethren from North-west Italy seems to have been a particularly significant factor. Even though the lack of resistance from the upper echelons of the Order, the extremely hostile climate, and the possibility of being classed as relapsed heretics in the event of retraction all had a profound effect on the course of the trial, it was the lack of use of coercive methods which, above all else, sharply distinguished the inquiries in Cyprus and Ravenna from those conducted elsewhere.¹⁷³ This is confirmed by the decisions taken under the guidance of Rinaldo da Concorezzo, where torture can be clearly identified as a determining factor in the confessions of the Templars.

¹⁷² Unfortunately, the trial records from the area studied in this book contain no depositions specifically regarding North-west Italy. Apart from the testimonies of Templars questioned in other regions, there is no proof that blasphemous acts or heterodox practices took place during the admissions in the houses in North-west Italy.

¹⁷³ The influence of coercive means is considerably reappraised in a recent work on the trial. The value of these observations is limited by the fact that this research gives little consideration to the inquiries conducted outside France. In cases where torture was not used, they do not take into account sufficiently the effect that being in a highly intimidating atmosphere, forsaken by their superiors, and subject to multiple pressures could have had on the Templars. Besides, retracting a confession did not automatically mean being condemned, but did imply the definite possibility of being considered a relapsed heretic and, up to the previous century, according to papal dictates, relapsing into error could be punished by immediate consignment to the secular authority. This risk must have been very present in the minds of Templar brethren already before 1310 (the year in which fifty-four Templars were burnt at the stake as relapsed heretics) and, in fact, Malcolm Barber approaches the problem in relation to the events of 1307. Frale, *L'ultima battaglia*, p. 144ff.; *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum pontificum constitutiones, epistolas, ac diplomata continens tribus ordinibus Minorum, Clarissarum, et Poenitentium a sancto Francisco institutis concessa*, eds. K. Eubel, G.G. Sbaraglia, 7 vols. (Rome, 1759–1904, repr. Assisi, 1983), II, doc. 444, p. 308, doc. 503, p. 360; M. Barber, "James of Molay, the last Grand Master of the Order of the Temple", *Studia Monastica*, 14 (1972), p. 114.

A prime example from this point of view could be that of Giacomo da Pigazzano. A Templar of this name, perhaps identifiable as the preceptor of the Milan house attested to between 1291 and 1304, was tried in Emilia and then released. A brother of the same name was questioned in Tuscany the following year. The possibility exists that it was the same person who, after being acquitted in Piacenza, was convinced that he could move about freely and who, on reaching Tuscany and being arrested and tortured, made a very compliant confession. According to this, he had been admitted in an orthodox manner, in accordance with the Rule, *tradita a beato Bernardo*, but had then taken part in blasphemous practices during the provincial chapters of the Order.¹⁷⁴ If it is the same person, then once again the use of coercive methods was a decisive factor in the confessions of this Templar, who had, however, stressed that orthodox admissions also took place in the Order.¹⁷⁵

4. *The Templars after the end of the Order*

During the Council of Vienne Clement V determined to dissolve the Templar Order, leading to its disappearance once and for all. The pope thus found himself having to decide on the fate of its members and possessions. The bull *Considerantes dudum*, issued on the 6th of May 1312, gave instructions on the movement of members of the Templar Order to other religious communities. It stated that the leading Templar dignitaries were to be tried by the pope, and the other brethren by the provincial councils. Those found innocent and reconciled with the church would be entitled to a pension, drawn from the Templar estates, and would be able to stay in the houses once belonging to the Temple. The *relapsed heretics* were to be tried according to canon law, whereas fugitives either had to give themselves up to a provincial council within a year or be declared heretics.¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately, information on the fate of the Templar brethren in North-west Italy is quite scarce.

¹⁷⁴ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 495–499.

¹⁷⁵ Renzo Caravita ("La «purgazione»,", p. 25) notes that this Templar had a particularly detailed knowledge of the Order's central and southern provinces. Giacomo's deposition combines information on Lombardy with news from Central Italy, especially from Rome. It could well be that he had served in other areas too, being a relative of the provincial master Bianco da Pigazzano. Perhaps Moro, *preceptor in Rome et terra Rome*, was from the same family. See above, Chapter III, pp. 110–111.

¹⁷⁶ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, VII, doc. 8784, pp. 303–305. Subsequently John XXII

In 1314 the violent death of Raimondo Fontana, a former Templar preceptor, was recorded. Opizzo Landi, a captain of Galeazzo Visconti, was named as the person who sent his men to kill him.¹⁷⁷ Giacomo Fontana, a relative of Raimondo and member of the Temple, had previously been attacked in 1308.¹⁷⁸ The possible closeness of the Piacenza Templars to the deposed lord Alberto Scotti has already been pointed out.¹⁷⁹ Alberto was driven out of Piacenza for the first time in 1304 and it was in this very year that the Templars resorted to papal protection and handed over Santa Maria del Tempio to the Dominicans, brethren of the pope. Alberto Scotti only managed to return to Piacenza temporarily, at two different times between 1307 and 1309, before being captured by Galeazzo Visconti.¹⁸⁰ From 1313 onwards the Viscontis succeeded in extending their sphere of influence to Piacenza, even though the Fontanas continued to try and stand in their way.¹⁸¹ So, the attack on Giacomo Fontana and the devastation of the Templar possessions in the Piacenza area occurred during a period when the Viscontis had a strong influence on Piacenza. Furthermore, Raimondo was killed at a time when the Viscontis' had already gained control of the situation, on the orders of Opizzo Landi, who belonged to a family that was an enemy of the Scottis.¹⁸² This infers, on the one hand, that the Templars were deeply involved in the political life of the town, probably also because of the lineages of the local brethren, and on the other shows how the loss of their important patrons exposed them to the vengeance of their adversaries.

There is also a summons, dated 1322, for Giorgio da Castellengo, former *miles* of the Temple, to appear before Aicardo, archbishop of Milan, Fr. Barnaba, the provincial prior of the Dominican Order in

showed a certain degree of concern for the more conspicuous indemnities of the former Templars, also stressing that they were in no way free of their monastic vows and should not in any event give rise to scandals. *Lettres communes de Jean XXII*, ed. G. Mollat, 10 vols. (Paris, 1904–1928), II, docs. 8721–8723, pp. 310–311; H. Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 293–294; Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 188–190.

¹⁷⁷ Guarino, *Chronicon*, p. 382.

¹⁷⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 530.

¹⁷⁹ See above, Chapter IV, pp. 170–174, and below Part II, pp. 264, 267–269.

¹⁸⁰ Racine, “La Signoria di Alberto Scotti”, p. 341.

¹⁸¹ Racine, “La Signoria di Alberto Scotti”, pp. 344–345; Castignoli, “La Signoria di Galeazzo I Visconti” in *Storia di Piacenza*, III, *Dalla signoria viscontea al principato farnesiano (1313–1545)*, p. 10.

¹⁸² Castignoli, “Dalla podestaria perpetua”, p. 280ff.; Racine, “Verso la signoria”, p. 314; Racine, “La Signoria di Alberto Scotti”, p. 333ff.

upper Lombardy, and Pasio di Vedano, *inquisitor heretice pravitatis*.¹⁸³ The summons was issued because Giorgio was a supporter of Matteo Visconti who had opposed papal policy. The lord of Milan was recognised as being *heretice manifestus* and the sentence allowed the inquisitors to extend their actions to all his followers, *fautores hereticorum*. In the Vercelli area this clash led to a bitter conflict with the local bishop, Oberto, who was captured by the Viscontis but then escaped.¹⁸⁴ It is not stated in the summons that Giorgio belonged to the Temple. This is specified in a subsequent deed in which it is attested that a procurator *fratris Georgii de Castelengo militis quondam Templi* appeared on his behalf.¹⁸⁵ The case of Giorgio, who had sided with the Ghibellines, probably the opposite side to the Fontanas, underlines how local factors could have a strong influence on the political choices of the Templars.

The cases of Giacomo di Montecuccio and Pietro di Bologna are of even greater interest. At the time of the arrests Giacomo was with the entourage of the papal court in Poitiers, where he was imprisoned.¹⁸⁶ A Catalan source, dated November 1307, makes explicit mention of the *comanador de Lombardia*, who is said to have been confident that the Templars were innocent and the Pope would intervene in their favour.¹⁸⁷ The mistaken identification of this Templar as the papal chamberlain Oliviero di Penna¹⁸⁸ has resulted in Montecuccio's period in French prisons being ignored for a long time. No other official in this period could have had the role of *comanador de Lombardia*, and the confidence that this

¹⁸³ G. Ferraris, *La pieve di S. Maria di Biandrate* (Biandrate, 1984), appendix II, doc. 1, p. 671.

¹⁸⁴ L. Besozzi, "I processi canonici del 1322–1323 contro i novaresi aderenti al partito dei Visconti di Milano", *Novarien*, 13 (1983), pp. 172–188; L. Besozzi, "I milanesi fautori dei Visconti nei processi canonici degli anni 1322–1323", *Libri e documenti*, 3 (1982), pp. 1–39; L. Besozzi, "I processi canonici contro i fautori dei Visconti negli anni 1323–1324", *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, X ser., 3 (1979), pp. 293–302; N. Housley, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers. 1254–1343* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 26–27, 84–85.

¹⁸⁵ Ferraris, *La pieve di S. Maria*, docs. 1–2, pp. 670–674; Besozzi, "I processi canonici del 1322–1323", pp. 173–174.

¹⁸⁶ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, V, doc. 7138, p. 288; Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, Obligationes et solutiones, 2, fol. 114^v (this document was kindly pointed out to me by Barbara Bombi); Barber, *The Trial*, p. 88.

¹⁸⁷ Finke, *Papstum und Untergang*, II, doc. 39, pp. 59–60.

¹⁸⁸ This mistake is in Finke, *Papstum und Untergang*, II, doc. 39, p. 59, note 5, doc. 164, p. 165, B. Frale, *Il Papato e il processo ai Templari. L'inedita assoluzione di Chinon alla luce della diplomazia pontificia* (Rome, 2003), p. 49, and B. Frale, "The Chinon chart. Papal absolution to the last Templar Master Jacques de Molay", *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), p. 118.

person had in the pope was typical of a brother who had also been a *cubicularius*. At the same time, though, it can be noted that in the inquiry in the papal state and the Abruzzi he was always referred to as contumacious.¹⁸⁹ Even though he had said to the pope in November 1307 that he was not going to escape, Giacomo managed to run away from his prison in Poitiers on the 13th of February 1308.¹⁹⁰ In all probability he reached northern Italy secretly, where, through his own contacts and thanks to a certain sympathy towards the Temple amongst the church and civil authorities, he lived undisturbed, and probably was even able to issue a letter of attorney to Umberto da Pigazzano, preceptor of Milan.¹⁹¹ The date on the letter is now illegible and we have to put our trust in the transcription done by Alessandro Colombo, a precise and reliable scholar, in 1926. So, if the date is correct, this document appears to be particularly significant, given that the pope, in the meantime, defining him as *istus falsus religiosus*,¹⁹² had put a price on the fugitive's head and launched an investigation into his breakout. The pope took it very seriously as Giacomo had been in his custody and Philip the Fair, along with other kings, might now doubt the reliability of his guardianship of the Templars imprisoned in Poitiers.¹⁹³ What is surprising is that Montecuccio, just one month after escaping, seemed to have felt safe enough to write a document in which he still defined himself as *cubicularius* and Master of Lombardy.¹⁹⁴ Even if the date of 1308 is not correct, it is nonetheless significant that Umberto was not afraid to be named as his representative. Subsequently Giacomo continued to be a fugitive and, as such, was perhaps tried by a provincial council, but no evidence of this has survived. It is also possible that in 1316 the bishop of Ivrea granted him the parish of San Cassiano in San Sebastiano Monferrato (San Sebastiano al Po, now in the diocese of Turin),

¹⁸⁹ For example, see *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 126–127, 145, 164, 187, 200.

¹⁹⁰ Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, doc. 74, p. 114.

¹⁹¹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 8, p. 220. The assumed date of the letter of attorney is the 15th of March. In it Giacomo is referred to as *militie Templi in Lombardia, Tuscia, Terra Rome atque Sardene generalis preceptor*.

¹⁹² Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, doc. 74, p. 114. Here too, the escaped *cubicularius mayor Lombardus* is mistakenly identified as Oliviero di Penna. Some time later Oliviero was still in detention. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, doc. 164, p. 165.

¹⁹³ Barber, *The Trial*, p. 95.

¹⁹⁴ The pope also *excommunicavit omnes scientes et occultantes ipsum* (i.e. Giacomo), *nisi infra certum tempus revelarent sibi*. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, doc. 74, p. 114.

a place not too far from Montecucco: in 1316, a certain Giacomo da Montecucco was in fact put in charge of this parish, to which he was then welcomed.¹⁹⁵ A local scholar, Domenico Garino notes that a Templar called Giacomino da Montecucco had signed a deed in the Ivrea area in as early as 1292. He appears again in a later document dated the 30th of October 1311.¹⁹⁶ Although unable to find any trace of these documents in the records of the Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, I did however find a deed from the 5th of March 1314 containing a certain Fr. Giacomo da Montecucco amongst the witnesses.¹⁹⁷ As Garino wrongly states that the investiture of San Cassiano was for a Giacomino da Montecucco, and whereas reference is made in this to Giacomo da Montecucco, it is not improbable that the 1292 and 1311 signatures too were made by the same person. Considering the freedom of movement enjoyed by the Templar master of Ivrea, Guglielmo Rubeo di Alessandria, it could well be that Montecucco had waited in this area for the end of the trial and then carried on serving the church in the diocese of Ivrea. Unfortunately, though, we have no definite facts to link the identification of this cleric to that of the Templar Master of Lombardy. In the 1316 document Giacomo da Montecucco is named as the son of Oberto Lombardo. A lord of Montecucco called Oberto was attested to in 1258, who may be the father of the Templar dignitary, but we are not certain of this.¹⁹⁸

The case of Pietro da Bologna or de Rotis is similar to this, although less well-documented. The procurator-general, even though he had confessed, then became committed to defending the Order. The trial records state that, in the end, he managed to escape from prison, but it has also been suggested that he was confined in isolation and killed.¹⁹⁹ In truth, the procurator-general returned to Bologna. As this case concerned a *relapsus* strictly speaking he should have been tried by

¹⁹⁵ Ivrea, Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, Protocollo XII.5.AM.313/317/1, fol. 31^{r-v}; D. Garino, "Spigolature negli archivi vescovile e capitolare d'Ivrea riguardanti gli ordini religioso militari dei Cav. Templari e dei Cav. di Malta", in G.C. Pola Faletti Villafaletto, *La castellata di Rivara e il Canavese*, 3 vols. (Casale Monferrato, 1945), III, p. 236; B. Capone, "Jacopo da Montecucco, ultimo gran precettore d'Italia", in *Atti del V Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Turin, 1987), pp. 32–33.

¹⁹⁶ Garino, "Spigolature", p. 235.

¹⁹⁷ Ivrea, Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, Protocollo VIII.3.310/320/1, fol. 23^v.

¹⁹⁸ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 82, p. 149.

¹⁹⁹ *Le procès*, I, pp. 164 ff., 287 *et ad indicem*, II, pp. 348–350; G. Lizerand, *Le Dossier de l'affaire des Templiers* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1964), pp. 176–188; M. Lavocat, *Procès des frères et de*

canon law, but in actual fact the declaration that invalidated confessions extracted under torture or fear of torture, issued in Emilia, could have rendered the statements devoid of all value in the eyes of local prelates. We have no evidence of him appearing before the pope and we can therefore hypothesise that perhaps he was tried by a provincial council. However, even Pietro was eventually able to return to his house of origin, where he died in 1329.²⁰⁰

The cases described above have a number of significant analogies: two important dignitaries of the Order, both Lombard and both closely linked to the papal court, had managed to escape, return to their country and wait there until the trial took its course. Giacomo had been a *cubicularius* during the papacies of Benedict XI and Clement V. Pietro was attested to as procurator of the Order in the papal curia during that of Boniface VIII²⁰¹ and his presence in France at the time of the arrests leads one to assume that he still had close relations with papal circles. The fact that both these Lombard dignitaries were given the chance to escape could have had something to do with their origin and their contacts with papal circles. This may be particularly likely for Giacomo di Moncucco, who was detained in Poitiers where the papal court was,²⁰² whereas Pietro, who was imprisoned in Paris at the time of his escape, probably took advantage of other kinds of connections.²⁰³ A brief analysis of the origins of the dignitaries and officials active in the papal curia shows that there were numerous Italians and, to be more precise, Lombards, in the pope's entourage. Many of them had already served under Boniface VIII and Benedict XI. Bonaiuto da Casentino, *scriptor pape* under Boniface VIII from 1299 and

l'ordre du Temple (Paris, 1888), p. 326; Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 152–182; Beck, *Der Untergang*, pp. 129–141; Frale, *L'ultima battaglia*, p. 288 ff.

²⁰⁰ A groundless local tradition in Bergamo has it that Pietro de Rotis originated from this town. D. Calvi, *Effemeridi sacro profane di quanto memorabile sia successo a Bergamo*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1676), II, p. 22 (here there is also the transcription of Pietro's epitaph, full of unbounded praise for his qualities); B. Belotti, *Storia di Bergamo e dei Bergamaschi*, 8 vols. + indexes (2nd edition, Bergamo, 1959), II, p. 327, note 47. If it is correct that Pietro died in 1329, the following mention of Pietro da Bologna as preceptor of the houses of Santa Maria di Carbonara and Santa Maria delle Risiere, which belonged first to the Templars and then to the Hospitallers, must refer to another person of the same name. Silvestrelli, "Le chiese", pp. 537–538.

²⁰¹ *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, II, doc. 2429, cols. 31–32, doc. 2550, col. 103.

²⁰² Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, p. 114, Barber, *The Trial*, p. 88.

²⁰³ The procurator-general Pietro da Bologna was an influential and educated prelate. For his legal skills (he was probably university trained) demonstrated during the trial see Barber, *The Trial*, p. 152 ff.; Frale, *L'ultima battaglia*, pp. 287–293.

active up to 1309, was from Lombardy.²⁰⁴ Taddeo Alderotti da Bologna had been Boniface's physician and is documented as already being in contact with Nicholas IV in 1290.²⁰⁵ Anselmo da Bergamo too had been physician to Boniface VIII,²⁰⁶ and also from Bergamo was cardinal Guglielmo Longhi.²⁰⁷ Guglielmo da Brescia, whose long career is attested up to 1326, had also been physician to Boniface VIII and Clement V.²⁰⁸

Under the papacy of Clement V, notwithstanding the pope's French origin and the transfer of his court to France, many of the staff who had formerly served his predecessor kept their posts and there were still a large number of officials and cardinals who originated from central-northern Italy. Most of the Chancellery and Chamber staff were of Lombard or other Italian origin and had already been active during the papacy of Boniface VIII. The same goes for the chaplains, including the newly appointed ones, whereas the domestic staff in Clement's court were mainly of French origin.²⁰⁹ It is thus not to be ruled out that the escape of Giacomo da Montecuccio was partly aided by the contacts he had in these circles.

5. *The transfer of the Templar possessions to the Hospital*

The bull *Ad providam*, issued on the 2nd of May 1312, ruled on the destiny of the Temple's possessions.²¹⁰ Faced with the demands from the secular powers, the pope stuck to his decision that these possessions should be used to serve the Order's original purposes. They were thus

²⁰⁴ Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, pp. 88–89.

²⁰⁵ Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, pp. 168–169; J. Coste, *Boniface VIII en procès. Articles d'accusation et dépositions des témoins (1303–1311). Edition critique, introductions et notes* (Rome, 1995), p. 526.

²⁰⁶ Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, p. 114.

²⁰⁷ Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, p. 244; Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti*, pp. 90–93, 410–422; A. Pesenti, “La signoria viscontea (1316–1428) e gli inizi della dominazione veneta (1428–1512)”, in A. Caprioli, A. Rimoldi, L. Vaccaro, eds., *Diocesi di Bergamo* (Brescia, 1988), pp. 126–127.

²⁰⁸ Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, p. 240.

²⁰⁹ B. Guillemin, “Le personnel de la court de Clément V”, *Melanges d'archéologie et d'histoire-École Française de Rome*, 63 (1951), pp. 161–162.

²¹⁰ In northern Italy this was sent to the Bishops of Milan, Pisa, Spalato and Zara, Novara, Trent, Florence, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Faenza, Aquileia and the Abbot of Nonantola. It seems likely that it was also addressed to Rinaldo da Concorezzo. Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 161.

to be taken over by the Hospital. The question was left in abeyance only in the Iberian kingdoms, whereas in all other lands the penalty for hindering the passage of the Templar legacy to its rightful recipients was excommunication and interdiction.²¹¹ On the same date the pope named the commissioners who were to be in charge of enacting the orders²¹² and a subsequent decree announced the papal measures to the administrators of the Templar possessions.²¹³

According to current research most of the attestations marking this transfer of property in North-west Italy are dated a long time after the demise of the Temple. In many cases the only confirmation that can be found of the passage of the Templar houses to the Hospitallers is in the modern *cabrei*. In the meantime, in the absence of any precise information on the size and locations of the properties of the two orders, it is impossible to determine how much of the Templar property actually came into the hands of the Knights of St. John.²¹⁴

The inventories drawn up by the inquisitors highlight the difficulties encountered in defending these properties from looting and seizure. They also underline how the Templar possessions were declining into a state of neglect and how difficult they were to manage, hampered by the indiscipline of the tenants and the frequent looting of the deserted houses. The start of the inquiry against the Temple had given rise to a general climate of uncertainty, characterised by pillage and robbery, carried out by people who wanted to take advantage of the situation to get hold of a piece of Templar property or settle old scores. In Brescia, in July 1312, Francesca, daughter of the late Mafeo di Via Vetere di Gargano, known as Arcillus, declared in her will that she did not want the local Templar house to be included in the list of ecclesiastical bodies that were to receive her legacy.²¹⁵ This decision is easily explainable by the fact that the Temple had already been dissolved. It is, however, quite easy to believe that there was looting and robbery in Brescia too in the inquisitorial administration period.

²¹¹ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, VII, doc. 7885, pp. 65–68.

²¹² *Regestum Clementis papae V*, VII, doc. 7886, pp. 68–71.

²¹³ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, VII, doc. 7952, pp. 82–83. Generally, on this subject, see A. Luttrell, “Gli Ospitalieri e l’eredità dei Templari. 1305–1378”, in Minucci, Sardi, eds., *I Templari. Mito e storia*, pp. 67–86, reprinted in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992), essay III.

²¹⁴ Luttrell, “Les exploitations rurales”, p. 107.

²¹⁵ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, busta 72, filza II, no. 19; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 14, p. 375.

Instances of Templar houses not being assigned to the Knights of St. John are few and poorly documented. They mostly concern houses that may not actually have belonged to the Temple or whose exact location was not known. Unfortunately, given the lack of documentation on these cases, there is no possible way of knowing whether these houses were vacated by the Order before it ended, whether they were seized by other parties after 1312, or whether they were actually passed on by the Hospitallers. Examples of such houses are those of Alba, Sant'Apollinare, *Crixanus*, Mezzano Chiantolo, Mondovì, Susa, *Solerus*, Savigliano, Paciliano and Ventimiglia, without counting a number of Templar houses whose existence is not certain. Finally, in some places where there was both a Templar house and a Hospitaller house, the fact that in the modern age Hospitallers are recorded as being trustees of just one establishment and not two is of no significance. The proximity of the two orders' houses could have led to an early loss of independence and importance of some Templar establishments and resulted in their being incorporated into the houses of the other order.²¹⁶

The most interesting and well-documented cases, which highlight the difficulties encountered by the Hospital in taking possession of the Templar houses and estates, are those of Milan and Brescia. Presumably the Milan house came into the hands of the Knights of St. John between 1316, the year in which a deed states that the Hospital still had only one house in Milan, and 1319, the year in which a document refers to the *mansio* of Santa Maria *quondam Templi* and the preceptor *domorum seu mansionum Sancte Marie Mediolani, quondam militie Templi et nunc dicti hospitalis, et de Burcheto et Iverno*.²¹⁷ Perhaps in order to overcome the difficulties that arose in the delicate process of expropriation, the Milanese Hospitaller house was watched over very carefully between 1322 and 1328 by Giacomo di Canelli, relative of the preceptor of this *mansio* and prior of Lombardy. In the documents from these years Canelli either represented the *mansio* of Milan directly or was the direct superior of the procurators appointed to supervise the administration of the house.²¹⁸ And it was for this reason—to keep a closer eye on the acquisition of

²¹⁶ This could be the case for Cremona. See below, Part II, pp. 258, 261.

²¹⁷ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 16th of April 1316; 28th of September 1319; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", docs. 24–25, p. 231.

²¹⁸ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 6th of January 1322, 26th of June 1322, 12th of June 1324, 23rd of June 1325, 20th of October 1326, 1st of December 1327, 17th of April 1328, 31st of May 1328; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", docs. 27–34, pp. 232–236.

the Templar possessions—that in this period the prior of Lombardy reverted to the old itinerant practice, moving about between Genoa, Milan, Moncalieri and Alessandria, so that he could dedicate himself to the supervision of this complex process.²¹⁹

The fourteenth century records of the Milanese Hospitaller house contain a number of references to Templar properties coming into the possession of the Knights of St. John, some of which are not mentioned in the surviving Templar documents. A parchment from 1324 attests to the payment of rent for lands *in monte lupario*, mentioned also in previous records, that the Temple had rented to the Humiliati of Brera.²²⁰ A deed from the following year, however, attests to the payment of rent for *bona quorum templariorum pervenerant in predictum ordinem hospitalis Sancti Johannis*, which in this case were located *in loco sive in territorio de Morsenghia super strata de Linate, ubi dicitur ad Roxellum*.²²¹

In Brescia, where there was no Hospitaller house, the Hospital encountered a number of difficulties in asserting its rights with regard to the Temple's legacy. In this case the opposition came from bodies that had already been in contact with, or in conflict with, the local Templar community. In the 1330s Alberto de Regentis, a Brescia judge and consul of justice, ruled that some inhabitants of Ponteviso had to give back two pieces of land in Ponteviso and Salvagnano which belonged to the Hospital and were previously owned by the Templars.²²² This measure seems to have been taken because Templar possessions that should have been handed over to the Knights of St. John had been seized by the neighbouring commune. Considering that the Templars had found it difficult to get their own rights respected in this area at the start of the century, it comes as no surprise then to learn

²¹⁹ Bordone, "I cavalieri", pp. 369–370.

²²⁰ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella, 88, 12th of June 1324; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 29, p. 234.

²²¹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella, 88, 23rd of June 1325; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 30, p. 234. The data from the Hospitaller records are to be treated with care. Often in the inventories of properties and houses they list possessions and convents that always belonged to the Knights of St. John together with those of Templar origin. This is the case in documents from 1319 and 1331, in which the Templar house of Santa Maria is noted together with the Hospitaller houses of Borghetto, Inverno and Rovagnasco. Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella, 88, 28th of September 1319; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 25, pp. 230–231, doc. 36, p. 237.

²²² Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 85; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 16, p. 375.

that people in Pontevico had used the occasion to try and stake their claims on some of the property that once belonged to the Temple. At the same time, this testimony gives us the location of some other Templar land in Salvagnano, thus providing us with further information in tracing the estate of the Brescia *mansio*. Finally, the transfer of the Templar possessions to the Hospital is attested to in Brescia by another three deeds. The first is dated 1364, the year in which Bonino da Vigevano, preceptor of the former Templar house, rented out a *curia* that was in the *mansio* district.²²³ In 1373 *dominus* Maifredo de Becharia et de Papia of the Knights of St. John assigned a piece of land to a certain Bertello.²²⁴ Unfortunately, no date can be put to a fragment of the parchment in which the *preceptor domus et ecclesie sancte Marie [Mansi]onis civitatis Brixie que fuit condam Templariorum et nunc est Sancti Johannis [J]erosolimitani* assigned a piece of land in the *mansio* district to two citizens of Brescia.²²⁵

It was harder, though, for the Order to get its way with a second contender, the Brescia blacksmiths' guild (*Paratico dei Fabbri*), which had probably built up a network of relations with the Templars. An inscription, undated and now lost, above the door of the church of Santa Maria stated that the guild had worked on the construction of the church.²²⁶ After the dissolution of the Temple, the *Paratico* probably made a series of increasingly wide-ranging claims on Santa Maria, mainly based on a document dated 1101 which, for a long time, was considered the oldest attestation to the Templar presence in Brescia. This deed notes a donation made to the Templars by a married couple from Mantua who were living in the town. As well as leaving some pieces of land,²²⁷ the couple also made a donation towards the rebuilding of the church, just begun by the Templars, requesting the daily celebration of the divine office for their souls. A further annual legacy was left to support the Order in Outremer and a final clause stated that, if the Templars were to abandon their pledge to defend the holy

²²³ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 88; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 17, p. 375.

²²⁴ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 69; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 18, p. 376.

²²⁵ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 75; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 15, p. 375.

²²⁶ Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, Quer. Ms Fè 57. m 4-10, fols. 271^v-272^r; Guerrini, "La «mansio templi»", p. 315.

²²⁷ F. Odorici, *Storie bresciane dai primi tempi sino all'età nostra*, 11 vols. (Brescia, 1853-1865), V, pp. 81-83.

places, then the church and its estate would go to the *Paratico dei Fabbri* of Brescia.²²⁸

The date of the deed, which was prior to the foundation of the Templar Order, and the reference to the abandoning of the Templar mission actually lead one to the conclusion that this document is a forgery. The original deed has not survived.²²⁹ Perhaps the text in our possession drew its inspiration from a donation that actually existed, but with the date and contents changed. The forged charter was probably written in the course of the fourteenth century, when it is likely that the first clashes between the Hospitallers and the Brescia guild took place in the dispute over Santa Maria. However, the first attestation to the dispute only dates from 1450, when Mauro di Lignana, preceptor of Santa Maria del Tempio, agreed that a priest chosen by the guild should be allowed to officiate in the church and that the guild should benefit from a share of its income. The dispute was still being referred to in 1580, when commander Ferrante Averoldi attempted to obtain the assignment of the estate of the church of Santa Maria del Tempio, a benefice that was separate to those held in the commendam and that was destined for the priest rector of the church. Following this dispute, the *Paratico* was also guaranteed the right to appoint the chaplain rector of the church, on the expense of the Knights of St. John.²³⁰

The blacksmiths' guild probably made its claim on Santa Maria some time after the end of the Temple, using a document that was at least partly forged to back up its claim. The dispute then became protracted, with the Knights of St. John gradually losing ground. They had tried to seize the possibility of taking over from the Templars in a place where they did not yet have a house, defending this convent in disputes with the rural communes and the *Paratico dei Fabbri*. Their efforts, however, whilst perhaps meeting with an initial success, as in the Pontevico dispute, did not make the transition trouble-free. Also, the fact that the Hospital had no pre-existing house in Brescia was likely to have made it difficult for the Knights of St. John to establish themselves in this new town, where aspirations already existed with regard to the

²²⁸ Guerrini, "La «mansio templi»", p. 315, note 1; R. Greci, *Corporazioni e mondo del lavoro nell'Italia padana medievale* (Bologna, 1988), p. 58.

²²⁹ Odorici, *Storie bresciane*, V, p. 80, note 1.

²³⁰ L.F. Fè d'Ostiani, *Storia, tradizione e arte nelle vie di Brescia*, ed. P. Guerrini (Brescia, 1927), p. 35; Guerrini, "La «mansio templi»", p. 429; Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini Cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo I, no. 1.

takeover of the Templar legacy, based on claims with varying degrees of legitimacy.

Unfortunately, because of the scarcity and fragmentary nature of the documentation, it is impossible to know whether or not there was continuity in the running of the Templar estate after it came into the hands of the Hospitallers. The depositions made in the trial in the papal state and the Abruzzi show that there was a large number of *fratres serventes* in the Templar houses engaged in farmwork.²³¹ The Hospital, though, seems to have run the estates differently, seeing as there is no trace of this kind of brother in Italian fourteenth century records, and the *confratres* generally seem to have been engaged in administrative tasks. However, from the surviving deeds of the 1333 inquiry, conducted in all the Hospitaller houses, it emerges that almost all the properties of the Roman priory were administered directly.²³²

What is certain is that the activities and importance of a number of Templar houses remained unchanged after being taken over by the Knights of St. John. In Milan, Santa Maria del Tempio, next-door to their former house of Santa Croce, became the Hospitallers' main residence. In Moncalieri too, the Templar house became the point of reference for the Knights of St. John community. The same applies to Alessandria, Acqui and Casale Monferrato.

Even though it was not always simple, and in some cases it seems as though it did not actually happen, the transfer of at least a sizeable number of the Templar houses to the Hospital in North-west Italy increased both the presence and resources of the Hospitallers in the area. During the course of the fifteenth century Italy came to account for a considerable amount of the *responsiones* paid in the West and the post of admiral became the exclusive prerogative of brethren of Italian origin.²³³ This further confirms the special importance that the peninsula had in the complex logistical and military action of the Military Orders active in the Mediterranean area.

²³¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 216, 222; Bramato, *Storia*, I, pp. 167–175.

²³² Luttrell, “Les exploitations rurales”, pp. 111–113. For information about the running of Hospitaller estates in other priories, see B. Beaucage, “L’organisation du travail dans les commandaries du prioré de Provence en 1338”, in Luttrell, Pressouyre, eds., *La Commandarie*, pp. 110–119.

²³³ H. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 76; «Gentilhomini Christiani», pp. 161–162; A. Luttrell, “Gli Ospedalieri nell’Italia settentrionale dopo il 1312”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, pp. 171–188.

CONCLUSION

THE TEMPLE IN NORTH-WEST ITALY: LOCAL REALITY AND MEDITERRANEAN VOCATION

During the two centuries of its lifespan the Temple's influence in North-west Italy was by no means negligible. It succeeded in creating a fairly dense network of houses. Most of these were in the Piedmont area and, in fact, there are a large number of published sources for this region, allowing for wide-ranging document searches and the tracing of a substantial number of convents. The expansionist drive of the Order put a clear emphasis on the relationship between the Templar houses and the road network in the region. The settlement pattern of an order that naturally tended to locate its houses on the main East-West routes was based on logistical needs. This tendency is particularly evident in North-west Italy, which has always been an area linking continental Europe to Mediterranean Europe.

This also throws light on the fact that the development of the Order's Western houses should be viewed in relation not only to local factors but also taking into consideration the dynamics of Mediterranean politics, because it was above all in the East that the Temple took its military action, also using resources from the West. Although the Lombard Templars, because of the very nature of the Order to which they belonged, had strong links with the East, there is unfortunately very little information on these contacts in the records. The Lombard Templars' involvement in the preparation and development of crusades is only hinted at by the fact that Barozio, Templar master of Lombardy, was in Romania at the time of the Fourth Crusade and also served as an important go-between in the communications linking the crusaders to Innocent III. The non-development of the Ligurian houses also appears to be highly significant in this respect, being mainly attributable to the disagreements that arose between Genoa and the Temple in the East.

In some cases the Templar houses investigated were not in significant locations in relation to the road network but rather in rural areas that were becoming more important and valued. And it was for this reason that other local bodies, both lay and church, became more interested in them too. Of particular significance in this respect are

the houses on the hills of Turin, located on the *via Francigena* and linked to the control of water supplies. The remarkable development of the Moncalieri house, where the commune of Testona decided to move its headquarters, shows just how attractive a well-run Templar house situated next to a very busy Po crossing could be. The sale of the Gorra estate, notwithstanding all its problems, highlighted the Order's desire to exploit the potential of its possessions to the full. In fact the new house that was built on the sold property must have actually been set up to guarantee the Order's growth locally. In both these cases the Temple had established itself in places whose potential was later to become evident in the dynamics of the local development. These two cases also cast light on the complexity of the relationships the Templars established with some communes.

The fact that the Order was well-established in North-west Italy from an early date is further borne out by the presence of a number of affiliates. In Milan, Albenga, Bergamo and Pavia, affiliates are mentioned in the first deeds regarding the Order, underlining the immediate harmony that existed between the Temple and local society. Of further significance is that these affiliates also came from the most important families in the area, the ones that sometimes joined the Crusades. In Albenga these affiliates also managed the economic affairs of the Templar house in person.

There were also instances of sharp conflict between the Order and local institutions, both lay and ecclesiastical, especially during the course of the thirteenth century. The disputes which arose with some communes were mainly over property, whereas the disagreements with religious bodies and bishops were predominantly about pastoral activities and some of the Order's privileges, which were barely tolerated by the rest of the clergy. However, the fact that some bishops at times assigned hospitals to the Temple implies that they had a positive attitude towards Templar activities at a local level. These assignments can also be linked to the particular location of the Templar houses and the important role played on a European level, and not just to the roads that ran through this area. Unfortunately, records of the actual charitable work carried out by the Templars in these hospices are virtually nonexistent. Even though these hospitals may not then have continued with their charitable work, their assignment to the Temple does, however, take on a certain importance as it creates a link between the episcopate and an order that is not under diocesan jurisdiction. Moreover, in some cases, the charitable work performed by the Templars in

their houses according to their Rule also had the advantage of bringing this Order closer to secular society.

The Temple's presence in the region was also affected by a number of characteristics peculiar to mediaeval Lombardy. The Templar houses in North-west Italy were located in an area of crucial importance to the conflict between papacy and empire, and they too were involved in the struggle. At the end of the 1150s and for the subsequent decade, the Lombard Templars seemed to have significant links with the imperial party. By the end of the 1160s, however, Bonifacio, the Templar master of Lombardy, seemed to be on good terms with Pope Alexander III too. The fact that the Lombard Templars most probably changed their position also corresponds to a more general change of allegiance in the northern Italian church hierarchy, which had been gradually intensifying its contacts with the papacy at the expense of its relations with the Staufen dynasty. Also, it was during the papacy of Alexander III that a continuous presence of Templar brethren began at the papal court. They appeared first of all as treasurers, then as *cubicularii*, marshals and papal ostiaries. Two of the main sets of skills acquired by the Temple, those related to finance through having to cope with the Order's logistical needs, and those related to the use of arms, allowed the Templars to be admitted the innermost circles of the papal entourage. Some of the Templar *cubicularii* were also provincial masters, thus making their role even more significant. They were important tools of papal policy and entertained very close relations with popes and their entourage.

A number of interesting insights arise in relation to the pedigrees of the Templar dignitaries active in North-west Italy. Several masters of Lombardy and Italy were descended from families that hoped to retrieve some of their lost power and privileges by joining the Military Orders or, put more simply, that sought a future for their younger sons, faced with the prospect of having to further split their already much-divided estates. The tendency for the nobility, especially the Piedmont nobility, to attempt to counteract its decline—caused by wealth-related and political factors—through entering Military Orders also manifests itself in recruitment by the Hospital, which drew on the same families. This too could be one of the reasons for the lack of a documented rivalry between these two institutions in the area in question. Further concord between Temple and Hospital can also be seen in politics, in which the main point of reference of the two orders in the thirteenth century appears to have been the commune of Asti. Despite the presence of a number of provincial dignitaries from Ghibelline families,

there is not a single reference from the thirteenth century that documents the allegiance of the Lombard Templars to the Staufens, whereas the politics of the commune of Asti shows several links to the action of the Temple.

Other worthwhile information that can be gleaned from the presence of the Templar Order in North-west Italy is linked to the trial, which, in this region, was characterised by a level of impartiality unknown to many other contemporary inquiries. Apart from the fact that there was a certain degree of sympathy for the Templars, as borne out by the pleas made on their behalf by communes and bishops, it was Rinaldo di Concorezzo who made the most significant contribution to ensuring that the inquiry was conducted in a favourable way for the Templars, by ruling that they were not to be subjected to torture and that they could be acquitted after a public compurgation.

After the end of the Order the Lombard Templars had to join other religious organisations, which is probably what the fugitive Giacomo da Montecucco, master of Lombardy, also did. After escaping from France, he probably waited in Piedmont undisturbed until the end of the inquiry. After 1312 the Temple's properties, amidst a great deal of opposition and difficulties, came into the hands of the Hospital, thus strengthening the Hospitallers' degree of control over the area and, notwithstanding the frequent lootings and damage incurred during the trial, considerably increased their wealth.

In conclusion, the Temple in North-west Italy fulfilled significant roles on two different levels. On a strictly local level it tended to align itself with the existing order of things in the area, attempting to draw benefit from the specific aspects of its presence in regional life. After achieving a good position in several local contexts, it became an important factor in local power relations and exerted a positive influence on the upgrading of formerly uncultivated and uninhabited areas. However, the inexorable tie that bound the Western convents to the Holy Land also connected the development of the Lombard houses to the events of the Latin East and, because of the particular history of mediaeval Lombardy, the Temple also became involved in the struggle between papacy, empire and communes. These contenders, well aware of the Order's importance on both the local and international levels, attempted to make it their own privileged interlocutor, in order to be able to exploit its potential to their own advantage. Thus, the connection to the East and the dialogue established with the two major mediaeval powers gave the Templar presence in North-west Italy a

clear international dimension, which is not only connected with the nature of the Temple itself but is also the result of some peculiar features of mediaeval Lombardy.

PART II

THE TEMPLAR HOUSES IN NORTH-WEST ITALY

This part consists of outlines of all the Templar houses traced in North-west Italy so far. Since the entries aim to completely describe the location and history of these settlements, several pieces of information already discussed at various points in Part I are repeated here. The Templar houses are listed in chronological order of attestation, on the basis of the first definite mention of their existence, the first mention of Templar possessions or the first donation of immovable property in the area. For each house the current name of the location is given, as well as the terms used to identify the house in the documents and the presence of churches and hospitals. It has also been decided to list individually some houses over which there is uncertainty as to whether they were administered by an independent preceptor along with those that were temporarily run by dignitaries from adjacent houses. In some places, named as locations where there was Templar property, there are still buildings which cannot be traced with certainty to the period in which the Order was present there. It has thus been decided to include these places with the descriptions of the Templar houses that were the holders of the possessions in question.

TEMPLAR HOUSES KNOWN TO HAVE EXISTED

MILAN

Domus or mansio

Church of Santa Maria del Tempio

This Templar house was first attested to in April 1142 in a donation written *in curte de Templo* destined for the Cistercian monastery of Chiaravalle.¹ A more precise mention was made in a deed of 1149 in which Bonifacio, *magister ecclesie et mansionis que dicitur de Templo, que est edificata foris prope civitate Mediolani in capite broili sancti Ambrosii*, together with Fr. Rustico, named as Cancellario, and Fr. Arnolfo, named as Grasso, with the consensus of Tedaldo the priest and the other brethren of the house, rented out certain properties in Paderno, which belonged to the late Dalmazio de Verzario, *confrater* of the *mansio*. Part of the money obtained by the Templars was used to purchase more land *prope pontem Trasonis*.²

The deed specified the location of the Milanese *mansio* which was outside the city walls in the Brolo di Sant’Ambrogio, a vast stretch of woodland to the south of the built-up area near the road to which led to Rome.³ The site of the Templar house was at the crossroads between the present-day Via Manfredo Fanti and Via della Commenda.⁴

Two of the Templars named in the deed belonged to noble Milanese families, the Cancellieris and the Grassis,⁵ and the mention of a priest of the Order (the first one attested to in North-west Italy) is also of significance. Dalmazio de Verzario was probably one of the first lay *confratres* of the Milanese Templars.

¹ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, pp. 186–189, doc. 1, p. 213.

² Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 2, p. 214.

³ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, p. 190 ff.

⁴ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, p. 203.

⁵ Giulini, *Memorie*, I, pp. 540, 688, II, p. 368, III, p. 377; *Liber Notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani*, col. 49 A.

St. Bernard's presence in the city (1135) may have played a positive role in the establishment of the Order in Milanese society. The fact that the 1142 donation to the monastery of Chiaravalle was drawn up in the Templar convent is a further indication of the early links between the new Templar house and the Cistercians.⁶

The house is mentioned again in a deed of 1152 in which a certain Guerenzone di Cairate bequeathed a legacy to the *Templum Domini de Brolio*. One of the bodies mentioned in the document is the hospital of Santa Croce, the hospitaller house situated near the Templar *mansio*, attested to here for the first time.⁷ A second mention of Templar possessions in Paderno was made the following year.⁸

Further references to the Milanese house are in the *Narratio de Lombardie obpressione et subiectione*, and the chronicle of Otto Morena of Lodi, where it is written that Frederick Barbarossa lodged at the local Templar premises during the siege of Milan in 1158.⁹ Morena writes that the Templar church was dedicated to All Saints (*Ognissanti*) and not to Holy Mary as stated in the surviving documents. This, rather than implying two separate places of worship,¹⁰ could refer to the coexistence of two different dedications in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹ The dedication to the Virgin is noted for the first time in a document issued by Nicholas IV in 1292 in which, on the occasion of the festival of St. Catherine, an indulgence was granted to the people who visited the Templar church of Milan,¹² dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The building may have predated the arrival of the Templars and may have initially been dedicated to All Saints. Subsequently the Templars may have cho-

⁶ Albini, "La domus Sanctae Crucis", p. 295.

⁷ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 3, p. 215. This parchment is no longer traceable. Further evidence of the proximity of the Templar church to that of the Knights of St. John was provided in a deed from 1224, also lost. G. Garuti, "Gli ospitalieri di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme a Milano: la domus di S. Croce nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Milano (tra XII e inizi XIV secolo)", *Studi di Storia Medioevale e Diplomatica*, 17 (1998), pp. 49–50; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", pp. 196–197, doc. 1, p. 221; Albini, "La domus Sanctae Crucis", p. 293.

⁸ *Le pergamene della canonica di S. Ambrogio*, doc. 13, p. 42.

⁹ *Narratio de Lombardie obpressione et subiectione*, p. 258; Otto Morena and continuators, *Libellus*, p. 84 (see also p. 160).

¹⁰ Giulini, *Memorie*, III, pp. 483–484, IV, pp. 723–724.

¹¹ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", p. 199 ff.

¹² *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, II, doc. 6888, p. 920. In the church of Santa Maria del Tempio there was an altar dedicated to St. Catherine. *Liber notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani*, col. 262 D.

sen a dedication more in keeping with the spiritual ethos of the Order, gradually dropping the original dedication.¹³

In 1215 Niger, the *domus Templi Mediolani* preceptor, with the consensus of Frs. Guidotto Basabelletta, Alberto and Francesco, rented out some lands with two mills on the Lambro Grande at Monluè.¹⁴ The Templar possessions in this area are also mentioned in a document of 1227 in which Giovanni, priest and preceptor of the Milanese house of the Temple, and Fr. Giovanni de Cassio rented two mills on the Lambro to Alberto, *minister* of the house of the Humiliati of Brera, with the consensus of the provincial master Guglielmo da Melzo. The deed, issued during a provincial chapter, was signed by the preceptors of numerous Templar houses in the North of Italy.¹⁵ There is another document from 1227, regarding the Humiliati house of Brera, which is mentioned in a deed of 1244. In this document we learn that the de Bussero family, who rented two mills *in flumine Lambri ubi dicitur ad monte Luparium* to the Brera house, had Templars as neighbours who had also rented their property in this area to the Humiliati.¹⁶

In 1226 a *scola*, most probably a charitable institute, was referred to as being connected to the Milanese *mansio*. In the purchase contract for a plot of land outside Porta Romana (*ubi dicitur ad pontem Trasonem*) Giovanni, a priest and preceptor of the local Templar *mansio*, and the layman Domenico di Piccorano were named as buyers. Both were described as *decani* of the *scola mansionis de Templo*. They obtained the money for the transaction from the sale of other properties in Assago and Bucinasco. Another person involved in the sale of these properties was a certain Oldrado Rogiato, perhaps another layman linked to the Temple.¹⁷ Possibly, in this case, the Templars had decided to sell some scattered properties in order to increase their existing possessions *prope pontem Trasonis*.

In 1266 the preceptor of the Milan and Piacenza houses was attested to as being Bianco da Pigazzano, who also carried out representa-

¹³ Ombrelli, *Militia Templi*, pp. 5–6. In 1196 Giovanni da Milano was a simple brother of the Templar house of Barletta. Guerrieri, *I cavalieri*, pp. 89–91.

¹⁴ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 1, p. 216. The document has disappeared from the Archivio di Stato of Milan.

¹⁵ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, pp. 101–109; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 3, pp. 216–217.

¹⁶ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 470, 13th of December 1244; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, p. 217.

¹⁷ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 69–70.

tive functions on behalf of the Lombard provincial master.¹⁸ In 1289 Nicholas IV urged the Templars of Milan to pay the tithes for the *negocium Regni Sicilie*.¹⁹ In 1291 Giacomo da Pigazzano, head of the houses of Milan and Montesordo, issued a receipt for rent paid on some property of the Order in Cermenate and Punzinate. The charter also mentions *Albertinus qui stat cum supradicto domino fratre Jacobo*.²⁰

In 1302, in his last will and testament, Ubizzo Mussini ordered that after the death of his designated heirs his estate should be bequeathed to the chapter and brethren of the Milanese Colombetta Hospital²¹ and the Milanese preceptor of the Temple, and distributed to the needy. The will also stated that, in the event of disagreement between the Temple and the Colombetta Hospital, the matter should be arbitrated by the master of the Brolo Hospital,²² who should take over the entire estate if agreement could not be reached between the two parties or if the instructions of the will were not complied with.²³ Significantly, in Ubizzo Mussini's will, the Templar house of Milan was equated to two institutes with specific hospital roles, thus underlining the fact that the local Templars had become well known for their intense charity work, perhaps also because of the activities of their *scola*.

In 1304 Giacomo da Pigazzano, preceptor of the *domus* of Milan, with the consent of Anrico, the *canavarius* of the house, traded a number of properties located *extra portam tonsam ubi dicitur Intaliedo sive Inspazola et ad pescinam maram*, with the Temple receiving properties in Zunico and Villanova in exchange.²⁴ Endorsement for transactions of this kind had been given by Ugucione di Vercelli, pontifical *cubicularius* and preceptor of the Lombard houses, in a letter written in Cremona in 1300.²⁵ Pietro, son of the late Alberto da Meda, and Euberto, son of

¹⁸ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 224.

¹⁹ *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, I, doc. 1146, p. 240.

²⁰ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 81–82; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 4, p. 217.

²¹ Borghino, “L'esempio di un ospedale”, pp. 225–238; Borghino, “Laici e beneficenza”, pp. 47–76.

²² For the Brolo Hospital see Albini, *Città e ospedali*, pp. 69–72.

²³ The parchment, restored together with those of 1304 and 1308, can be found in Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 5, p. 218.

²⁴ The only information we have concerns a Hospitaller house in Zunico, while, according to the surviving documents, on the property acquired from the Templars there was just a farmstead. We do not know whether they actually established a rural house here.

²⁵ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cart. 5, 16th of October 1304 (a deed concerning the possessions acquired from the

ser [...] de Monte, *familiares* of the Order who lived in the Templar convent, are also mentioned in the deed.

The last of the documents found regarding the estate of the Milanese Templar house is dated April 1308. In this deed the preceptor Umberto da Pigazzano, in his role as *nuncius, syndicus et procurator* of Giacomo da Montecucco, the Templar preceptor for Lombardy, *Tuscia* and Sardinia, acting with the power of attorney assigned to him on the 15th of March in the same year, rented out some of the Temple's properties in Anzano.²⁶ The deed, issued before the start of the trial in Lombardy, is of considerable importance, in that it attests to the freedom of action still enjoyed by the Milanese Templars in this period and the activity of the fugitive Giacomo da Montecucco.²⁷

We have very little information on the trial in Milan. Papal bulls were sent to the city, one of which was at the time stored in the archives of the Dominican church of Sant'Eustorgio.²⁸ A document in the Archivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna notes that the properties of the Milan house were entrusted to the Captain of the *Popolo*, Guidone della Torre, *per patentes litteras ipsius domini Pape*. In 1309 he handed them over to the vicars of the archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa, Giovanni di Castiglione and Rainero Gatti, who were assigned the task of supervising the management of the sequestered estate. The previous administrator had been *dominus* Martino, *filius domini Uberti de Fara*, who was appointed by della Torre himself.²⁹ In the report consigned to the vicars by Guidone it appears that the estate was generally in good financial condition, thus confirming the prosperity of the Milanese Templar house despite the difficult times.³⁰ The appended list of the house's furnishings includes liturgical books and a chest containing a number of relics.³¹

At the end of the trial the Templar house and its estate were passed on to the Knights of St. John. References are made to *Santa Maria quondam Templi* in several documents pertaining to Santa Croce, and the

Templars is conserved in Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 9th March 1308. In this, however, the Order is not mentioned; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 6, pp. 218–219.

²⁶ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", docs. 7–8, pp. 219–220.

²⁷ See above, Charter V, pp. 204–205.

²⁸ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Sezione storico-diplomatica, Archivio Diplomatico, Bolle e Brevi, cartella 21, secolo XIV; Fumagalli, *Sui Templari*, II, p. 191.

²⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 336, pp. 539–542.

³⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 336, p. 540.

³¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 336, p. 541.

importance of the Templar house is further demonstrated by the fact that the Hospitallers made it their main centre in the city.³² This act of incorporation probably took place between 1316 and 1319, given that a document about Santa Croce dated April 1316 makes no mention of the acquisition of Santa Maria, whereas in another document dated September 1319, Corrado Canelli was named as the *preceptor domorum seu Mansionum Sancte Marie Mediolani quondam militie Templi, et nunc dicti hospitalis, et de Burcheto et Iverno*.³³ Probably in order to overcome the difficulties stemming from the expropriation of the Templar estate, from 1322 to 1328 the running of the Milanese house was supervised by Giacomo Canelli, a relative of the preceptor mentioned above and prior of Lombardy. In documents dated 1322–1328 Canelli appears to have been either the direct representative of the Milanese house or the figure referred to by the procurators appointed to oversee its administration.³⁴

The fourteenth-century documents also give information on the size and location of the former Templar possessions. A deed from 1324 states the rent charged to the Humiliati house of Brera *pro certis rebus territoriis jacentibus in partibus de monte lupario*,³⁵ which was previously paid to the Templars. In another document dated the following year the preceptor of the house of the Knights of St. John received a payment from the Humiliati for *bona quorum templariorum pervenerant in predictum ordinem hospitalis Sancti Johannis*. In this case the properties that once belonged to the Templars were in a different location: *in loco sive in territorio de Morsenghia super strata de Linate, ubi dicitur ad Roxellum*.³⁶

Hospitaller documents must be read carefully and a distinction must be made between the properties that previously belonged to the houses of the Knights of St. John and never to the Templars and those acceded

³² Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 28th of September 1319, 12th of June 1324, 23rd of June 1325; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 25, p. 231, docs. 29–30, p. 234, doc. 36, p. 237; Albini, "La domus sancte Crucis", p. 299.

³³ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 16th of April 1316; 28th of September 1319; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", docs. 24–25, p. 231.

³⁴ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 6th of January 1322, 26th of June 1322, 12th of June 1324, 23rd of June 1325, 20th of October 1326, 1st of December 1327, 17th of April 1328, 31st of May 1328; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", docs. 27–34, pp. 232–236; Bordone, "I cavalieri", pp. 369–370.

³⁵ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 12nd of June 1324; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 29, p. 234.

³⁶ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 23rd of June 1325; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 30, p. 234.

to after 1312. The 1319 document cited above, for example, which also mentions the settlements in Borghetto and Inverno, has given rise to the conviction that these houses were of Templar origin, whereas in fact they were attested to as Hospitaller right from the start.³⁷ The same applies to that of Rovagnasco, mentioned in a deed from 1331. Here, reference is made to the investiture of Vercello di Castell'Alfero as *preceptor domorum dicti hospitalis de Rovagnasco et quondam Templi Mediolani*.³⁸ Clearly, in this case, the words *quondam Templi* refer to the Milan house alone and not to the Rovagnasco hospital. In the absence of further attestations, this house too appears to have always belonged to the Knights of St. John.³⁹

ALBENGA

Mansio or *domus*

Church of San Calogero de Campora or de pratis

The Templar house of Albenga was attested to for the first time in 1143 thanks to the purchase of two plots of land. In April of that year Lombarda, the daughter of Oddone de Legen, sold half of a plot of enclosed land situated *in plano Albiganensi, ab pontilo prope ecclesia Beati Calozeri de Campora* to Oberto, *missus de Templo de Jerusalem*.⁴⁰ The estate bordered on one area of land already belonging to the Temple and another belonging to the Hospital. Both Military Orders were thus present in the region before the transaction.⁴¹ In October of the same

³⁷ Colombo himself did not rule out the possibility that these houses may have originally belonged to the Templars. Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", pp. 231–232. For these convents, see G.C. Bascapé, *Storia di Villanterio* (Pavia, 1926); G.C. Bascapé, *Lo Statuto di Borghetto* (Pavia, 1928).

³⁸ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 36, p. 237. This deed too is no longer traceable. Colombo thought this house was of Templar origin. Ombrelli (*Militia*, pp. 25–36) is of the same opinion. There is also another deed that talks *dicte domus sancte Crucis, beate Marie quondam Templi et Rovagnasco*. Here too, the term *quondam Templi* refers only to Santa Maria del Tempio. Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, cartella 88, 19th of June 1347.

³⁹ Some information on the modern history of this house can be found in G. Battioni, "Aspetti e problemi della presenza giovanita nelle diocesi del ducato sforzesco", in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, p. 426.

⁴⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 30–31.

⁴¹ Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, p. 205 ff.; F. Cervini, "Architetture gerosolimitane nel Ponente Ligure", in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, p. 241.

year Oddone de Legen and his daughter Lombarda sold a plot of land located *in plano Albiganensi loco ubi dicitur Glesia*, again to Oberto, this time described as *conversus de Templo*, that is, a lay affiliate of the Order.⁴²

The Templars' attempt to form a compact, easily manageable estate appears evident already from these first deeds. The lands in question were grouped near the Temple's church, named after St. Calocerus.⁴³ For some, the house was identified with the church of San Giorgio in Campochiesa,⁴⁴ an early mediaeval building which later became a Benedictine monastery.⁴⁵ There is evidence that a part of the monastery complex was actually being built during the twelfth century, which coincides with the possible period of Templar ownership of the building. This evidence and the monastery's location at the place named in the second document (Glesia = Campochiesa) are not, however, conclusive evidence of its ownership by the Temple. It is, rather, likely that the twelfth-century construction in the San Giorgio complex was an extension of the Benedictine monastery, whilst its location in the zone in question could simply be evidence that San Calocero and San Giorgio were close together. What appears even more likely is that the church of San Calocero di Campora is identifiable as a building that has since disappeared, connected to an old Roman coastal road.⁴⁶ The church's dedication could lead one to assume that it existed before the arrival of the Templars. The name, in fact, is linked to the local devotion to the martyr Calocerus, to whom a number of foundations in the area were dedicated and which were probably subordinate to the monastery on the island of Gallinara.⁴⁷ This subordinate relationship, in the form of the payment of an annuity to the monastery, also applied to the plot

⁴² Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 32.

⁴³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 18–22.

⁴⁴ Cf. N. Lamboglia, *I monumenti medievali della Liguria di Ponente* (Turin, 1970), p. 100; N. Lamboglia, "Albenga: il ripristino di S. Giorgio di Campochiesa", *Rivista di Studi Liguri*, 2 (1936), pp. 359–392; N. Lamboglia, *San Giorgio di Campochiesa* (Albenga, 1937); G. Penco, "S. Giorgio di Campochiesa e le raffigurazioni escatologiche del Ponente ligure", *Benedictina*, 44 (1997), pp. 211–216.

⁴⁵ J. Costa Restagno, *Albenga* (Genoa, 1985), p. 38.

⁴⁶ Accame, *Notizie e documenti*, pp. 22, 24–25; Costa Restagno, *Albenga*, p. 18 (on the location of Campochiesa and Campora, see Costa Restagno, *Albenga*, p. 62); Lamboglia, *Albenga romana*, p. 15, fig. 6; *Gli Statuti di Albenga del 1288*, ed. J. Costa Restagno, *Fonti per la Storia della Liguria 3—Collana storico-archeologica della Liguria occidentale 27* (Genoa, 1995), fig. 6 (between pp. 110–111).

⁴⁷ A. Rimoldi, "Calogero", *BSS 3* (Rome, 1963), cols. 693–694; G. Penco, "Il monastero di Gallinara e le sue vicende medievali", *Rivista Ingaunia e Intemelja*, n.s., 18 (1963), pp. 10–21; J. Costa Restagno, "Il monastero della Gallinara nei secoli XI e XII e i

of land in the first document mentioned above. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Templars might also have chosen this dedication for a church that had been newly built, linking it to a devotional trend already existing in the area.

The exact location of the church of San Calocero is impossible to verify. The meaning of the reference to a *pontilus* in the first document mentioned is difficult to evaluate. The Roman bridge on the Centa, known as Pontelungo,⁴⁸ was not near *Campora* and, above all, could not have been described as a *pontilus*. Unfortunately, there is no definite evidence of the location of other bridges, although there must have been some on the Roman coast road.⁴⁹

It is also impossible to know the exact date when the Templars arrived in Albenga, even though, as already noted, the people of this town joined the first crusader expeditions and it is thus safe to assume that relations between the town and the Latin East existed in the first half of the twelfth century.⁵⁰

The Templars continued their purchases in 1144, as documented in a deed from August of that year in which the above-mentioned Oberto bought a meadow, again bordering on the Temple's property. It should be noted that the document states that it was re-read by Oberto, described as *missus de templo*.⁵¹ Another two contracts from 1145 verify that the expansion of the lands owned was a continuing process. In June two *missi* of the Order, Ugo and Guglielmo Normanno, agreed to pay rent for a plot of enclosed land located *iuxta Pratis*.⁵² On the same day the married couple Algiso and Donata sold Ugo and Guglielmo Normanno—again referred to as *missi* of the Temple—one eighth of an enclosed plot of land, although the location was not given.⁵³ Ugo

suoi possedimenti in Catalogna", in *Storia monastica ligure e pavese. Studi e documenti*, Italia benedettina 5 (Cesena, 1982), pp. 259–298.

⁴⁸ The course of the Centa (*Arroschia*) has changed considerably over the centuries. Lamboglia, *Albenga romana e medievale*, pp. 169–171.

⁴⁹ G. Petracco Siccardi, R. Caprini, *Toponomastica storica della Liguria* (Genoa, 1981), p. 99. *Pontilus* should not be taken as meaning quay, especially since *Campora* was not next to the sea.

⁵⁰ See above, Chapter I, pp. 14–15.

⁵¹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 33–34. The deed also mentions a certain Carlo Converso, named in connection with one of the properties bordering on the bought plot. We do not know whether he was a Templar affiliate. The unlikelihood of the term *conversus* being a form of surname when attributed to Oberto, unlike in Carlo's case, is borne out by the fact that he is referred to with the expression *conversus de Templo*.

⁵² Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 35.

⁵³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 36–37.

and Guglielmo Normanno were not explicitly referred to as Templars and therefore could be laymen.

There are no further attestations for the next two decades. Templar possessions are mentioned again in a deed from 1154 in which Alberto di Multedo rented out a piece of land situated in the plain of Albenga, bordering on the church of San Calocero *de pratis* and the Templar property, to a certain Oddone.⁵⁴

Then there is a deed of affiliation dated 1167 that further notes the positive relations between Templars and the laity of Albenga and remarks on the particular characteristics of these relations. In this year Robaldo Marabotto and his wife Giusta dedicated themselves to the church of San Calocero *ad honorem Dei et servicium Templi*.⁵⁵ They also donated an estate in a place called *Becelega*, all their possessions in *Valirano*, and a piece of land next to the wall of Albenga. Following this donation, Bonifacio, *de rebus Templi in Italia magister et procurator*, ordered that the church of San Calocero along with all its moveable and fixed assets, both present and future, situated in the region of Albenga, should be at Marabotto's disposal, who had to pay an annuity for it. One of the *confratres* of the house was to remain under his orders, and this clause seems to confirm the presence of other lay affiliates in Albenga. Finally, if one of the couple should die, the surviving partner would be able to live at San Calocero.⁵⁶

The donation of Robaldo and Giusta seems significant in a number of ways. It is the only affiliation document that has been found in North-west Italy. Furthermore, Robaldo and Giusta are the only married affiliates traced in this area and they were accepted by the Master of Italy. It is difficult to say whether the significance of their act is dependent on the size of their material donation. The Marabotto family do not seem to be part of the town elite and the other attestations that refer to them are datable to well into the thirteenth century or the one after. In 1276 Guglielmo Marabotto de Boçoleto appeared as witness to a simple contract, and in 1322 Giovannino Marabotto worked as a notary in Zucarello, in Val Neva.⁵⁷ What is interesting is the fact that

⁵⁴ *Statuti antichi di Albenga dal 1288 al 1350*, ed. P. Accame (Finalborgo, 1901), pp. 65–66.

⁵⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49.

⁵⁶ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 48.

⁵⁷ Albenga, Archivio Capitolare, Pergamene, no. 16; Castelvechio di Rocca Barbena (SV), Archivio privato Badano, 16th of Aprile 1322. These charters were pointed out to me by P.G. Embriaco.

the management of the entire estate of the Templar house was assigned to Robaldo, in exchange for which he paid an annuity. Why the Temple wanted the house to be administered by an affiliate is not known. It appears significant, though, that the *conversus* Oberto had previously represented the Temple in this area, thanks perhaps to an investiture similar to that of Robaldo.

Six years later in May 1173 Robaldo, on behalf of the Temple, received a donation of a plot of land in a place called *Prato Rigio* from Caita, daughter of the late Domenico. Even though the document does not describe him as having any official role in the Order, in the promise to abide by the contents of the contract Caita refers to Robaldo and his successors as being fully authorised to represent the Temple and run the house.⁵⁸ On the basis of this document it has been hypothesised that Robaldo was accepted in San Calocero after the death of his wife. In actual fact this means that he has simply put into effect the prerogatives granted him by the provincial master Bonifacio. Robaldo was still acting on behalf of the Temple in 1179, when he acquired a piece of land adjacent to the Templar house from Adalasia, daughter of the late Gandolfo.⁵⁹

Two years later two other representatives, Guglielmo di Vignano and Guido, *ministri* of San Calocero, acted on behalf of the Order in the purchase of a plot of land in *Calendas* (Carende) from Donata, daughter of the late Graselveto. Amongst the witnesses to the deed was Oddone Marabotto, probably a relative of Robaldo.⁶⁰ The day after the sale, effected on the 29th of December, Ascherio Malum Semen, son of the late Bonsignore, sold the Temple half a meadow located in *pratis sancti Caloceri*, one side of which bordered on the church.⁶¹ Just one month later, at the end of January 1182, Raimondo Torrazza sold the previously mentioned Guglielmo di Vignano, *minister* of San Calocero, a meadow adjacent to the Temple's church.⁶² On the same day husband and wife Cumito and Adalana sold Guglielmo some land located *ubi dicitur Valiano*, adjacent to the Temple's property.⁶³ Oddone Marabotto was one of the witnesses in both deeds.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 50–51.

⁵⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 66–67.

⁶⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 67.

⁶¹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 68–69.

⁶² Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 70.

⁶³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 71.

⁶⁴ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 72.

This set of deeds, all very close together in date, bear witness to the Temple's constant tendency to extend its property by taking over adjoining land, both around its church and in other places where it was already present. This action is confirmed in a deed from 1186 in which the Templar *minister* Enrico bought half a meadow *ubi dicitur Prata* adjacent to the Temple's church. The previous owner of this land was Oddone, yet again a member of the Malum Semen family.⁶⁵ Oddone Marabotto is also mentioned in the text of the deed.

Despite the Temple's thriving business and the links it had forged with local society, in January 1191 it sold most of the property belonging to this house to the bishop of Albenga, renting the actual house itself and another part of its land to him. On the 16th of this month the brethren of the *mansio*, Pietro Bucilerio, the presbyter Giovanni, Aicardo, Guglielmo de Lamanda and Guglielmo de Chilliani, on the order and with the approval *magistri Gaimardi, omnium mansionum Templi in Italia preceptoris et omnis Italie templariorum (...) conventus*, received 750 Genoese silver *lire* from Airaldo, bishop of Albenga, for the sale of the Temple possessions in the plain of Albenga. The possessions included cultivated fields, uncultivated land, meadows and *sedimina*, with all the related use and collection rights. It was a considerable estate in the zone around the Finale Ligure river and Zerbolo, between Albenga, Ventimiglia, Pieve di Teco (*Teucum*), Celle Ligure (*Celam de monachis*) and the sea.⁶⁶

This is what is stated in the edition of the document by Paolo Accame, which, however, does not show the whole charter. In actual fact, in the original parchment, recently transcribed by Primo Giovanni Embriaco, it is emphasised that the San Calocero estate was divided into two parts, one directly related to the *mansio* of San Calocero and located nearby, probably in neighbouring areas and run according to practical criteria, which was just rented to the local bishop together with the house itself, and another much more fragmented and scattered, located in the plain of Albenga, which was actually sold. The Temple had already assigned the running of the Albenga house to other people in the past, as in the case of Robaldo Marabotto. Robaldo's

⁶⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 72–73. For this family, one of the more important ones in the town, see P.G. Embriaco, *Vescovi e Signori. La Chiesa albenganese dal declino dell'autorità regia all'egemonia genovese. Secoli XI–XIII* (Bordighera–Albenga, 2004), p. 207.

⁶⁶ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 79–81.

investiture, though, was linked to the person, whereas that of the bishop of Albenga could be passed on to his successors.

Why, then, did the Temple decide to do without a stable presence in the Albenga area? The sale, approved by the Master of Italy, was most probably linked to the difficult period the Temple and the other Christian forces were going through in the Holy Land. Judith Bronstein notes that after the battle of Hattin (1187) the Temple and the Hospital sold property in the West in order to cover their war expenses.⁶⁷ At the end of the previous year the Crusaders had suffered a bitter defeat and were besieging Acre at great cost.⁶⁸ This probably prompted the Temple to part with some of its possessions, which were producing only a limited income, in exchange for a considerable sum of money to finance its military activities. In renting San Calogero to the local bishop, however, it kept possession of the most profitable part of its estate. The Order had already stopped running the house directly at least once before in the past. At the end of the thirteenth century, though, it deemed the house expendable to the extent of renting it out to another ecclesiastical body in return for the payment of an annuity. In all probability the fact that Albenga was now definitely within the sphere of the commune of Genoa⁶⁹ was another thing that put the Temple in a delicate position, as relations between Genoa and the principalities of the Latin East in the twelfth century had been decidedly difficult. The fact that Albenga was in a region administered by a political entity that did not always agree with the Order's politics could also have influenced this choice.⁷⁰

The acquisition of the Templar estate was also an important step forward for the bishop of Albenga in reconstructing the episcopal estate and the affirmation of his jurisdiction.⁷¹

The terms of the contract were not subsequently honoured by the bishop of Albenga and this led to a dispute. The only document we have about this, which summarises the quarrel, is from 1224. Giovanni, priest and *sindicus domus Milicie Templi*,⁷² was chosen to defend the Temple's interests against Oberto, bishop of Albenga. Pope Hon-

⁶⁷ Bronstein, *The Hospitallers*, pp. 65, 105.

⁶⁸ Prawer, *Histoire*, II, p. 58 ff.; Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 141–142.

⁶⁹ *I Libri Iurium*, I/1, doc. 251, pp. 360–361.

⁷⁰ For the gradual but inexorable silting up of the port of Albenga see Varaldo Grottin, ed., *Porti antichi*, pp. 83–86.

⁷¹ Embriaco, *Vescovi e Signori*, pp. 214, 226.

⁷² In 1226–1227 a priest named Giovanni was the preceptor of the Templar house

orius III had appointed Pietro, bishop of Tortona, Alberto, bishop of Savona, and Raimondo, abbot of the Genoese monastery of Santo Stefano, as arbiters in the dispute. The Temple's claims involved the giving back of San Calocero and the payment of the rent due for the investiture of its possessions, which had not been completely paid in the past, together with the payment of the *albergaria* for three horses. The bishop of Albenga had refused to comply with this request, declaring that there were no obligations attached to the church in question. He had also asked for the abbot of San Martino di Gallinara to be involved in the arbitration. The archpriest of Asti, probably called by the Temple, tended, on the other hand, to favour the Military Order. Once again, the pope was asked to intervene. In the end, the arbiters ordered the bishop to pay the annuity for San Calogero, which was to be received by a Templar *nuncius* in the church itself together with two riding horses. In addition, to reimburse the Temple for the expenses incurred and the annuities that had only been partially paid in the past, the arbiters ordered Oberto to pay one hundred Genoese *lire* in two fifty *lire* instalments.⁷³

Evidence that the bishop of Albenga later abided by the 1224 orders is provided by a payment receipt issued in 1233 by Ruggero, *frater domus milicie Tempi de Ultramarie*, in which he confirmed receiving rent for the church and land of San Calocero from Simone, bishop of Albenga. The deed was signed in Genoa in the cathedral church of San Lorenzo.⁷⁴

Relations between the Temple and the bishop of Albenga, however, were destined to become tense again. In 1267 the provincial master Bianco da Pigazzano gave Manfredo, preceptor of the *mansio* of Osiglia, the task of collecting the rent due from the bishop of Albenga and taking it to Asti. If he could not find the provincial master, he was to hand over the money to the preceptor of the Order in Asti. Manfredo, in the role of *nuncius et procurator* for the provincial dignitary, was also bearer of a second letter, addressed to the bishop of Albenga, in which Bianco declared that he had been informed that the bishop had not wanted to pay the rent, even though Bianco himself had written to him about it. The provincial master ensured the bishop that the annuity

of Milan. It is impossible to ascertain if he was the Templar brother involved in the Albenga dispute. See above, p. 225.

⁷³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 89–90.

⁷⁴ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 99. The Templar preceptor of the house of Genoa in 1244 was named Rogerio. Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

would have got to him via Manfredo and that the preceptor of Osiglia had accounted for the receipt of the nine previous annuity payments correctly. Apart from an unspecified sum that had not been paid in the past, Bianco promised that he would no longer bother the bishop about unsettled payments. Also present at the drafting of the letter was Leone, marquis of Gavi.⁷⁵

In the past, therefore, other attempts had been made by the bishop of Albenga to turn the investiture of San Calocero and its related property into a stable possession of the episcopal church. Perhaps he tried to accuse the Templar collectors of stealing the annuities he paid. The above deed attempted to rectify this situation, but without the Temple forfeiting its rights.

This document is the last record of relations between the San Calocero house and the Temple and, unfortunately, nothing is known about what attitude the Templars' successors, the Hospitallers, had to the bishop of Albenga. There is no evidence that the Knights of St. John in the adjacent house of San Clemente received payments from the bishop for San Calocero and perhaps this is final confirmation of the establishment of the bishop's authority over the Templar possessions.

VERCELLI

Domus or mansio

Church of San Giacomo d'Albareto

In 1145 Oddone, son of the late Vilfredo di Viverone, bequeathed *templo de yerusalem sedimen unum cum area et vinee peciolam unam* in his will.⁷⁶ The donation was confirmed the following year.⁷⁷ We do not know if the Temple already had a house here, at a place located on important travel routes, at this time. This deed, though, is the first mention of the Order having possessions in this area.

The next reference to a Templar presence in Vercelli dates from 1179, in a deed in which Alberico da Lodi, procurator of the church of San Giacomo d'Albareto, with the consent of Roboaldo di Moncalvo, preceptor of all the Templar houses in Italy, transferred all the rights

⁷⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 99–101.

⁷⁶ *Le carte dell'Archivio capitolare di Vercelli*, I, doc. 126, p. 153.

⁷⁷ *Le carte dell'Archivio capitolare di Vercelli*, I, doc. 128, pp. 158–159.

held on a plot of land situated *ubi dicitur ad pissinam asinariam* to the church of San Bartolomeo.⁷⁸

The obituary notice of Guala I Bicchieri, perhaps datable to 1193, states that he, *secularia et huius seculi pompam deserens, militiae templi cum maximis facultatibus se ipsum dedit*.⁷⁹ Guala was thus a Templar affiliate who had made a sizeable donation to the Order when he joined. In the same obituary notice it is written that Guala *ab universo Italie exercitu, qui in obsidione Acri erat, electus ordinator fuit et rector constitutus*. He had thus held a position of no small importance during the Third Crusade. Unfortunately, it cannot be verified whether Guala's close link with the Temple was formed at this or an earlier occasion. Before leaving for the Holy Land, Guala, a prominent member of the town's ruling class, had been consul of the commune several times.⁸⁰

Another reference to the Temple occurs in a deed from 1198 in which Guglielmo and Lombardo, priest and brother *mansionis templi de Iherusalem*, respectively, in the presence of Alberto, bishop of Vercelli, acquired some property in the town.⁸¹ This document has a certain importance because it attests to the fact that Alberto, future patriarch of Jerusalem (1205–1214),⁸² had direct knowledge of the Military Order. It also appears that there is a bequest made to San Giacomo d'Albareto dated October 1200, attesting that it had been raised to the level of parish church.⁸³ It is thus not to be ruled out that bishop Alberto wanted the Templars to take on this role. Amongst the witnesses to the 1198 deed was Martino Bicchieri, several times consul and brother of Guala I.⁸⁴

In 1222 the preceptor of the Vercelli house, Giacomo de Mellacio, was appointed by the Master of Italy, Giovanni Lombardo, to represent

⁷⁸ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, doc. 15, p. 232.

⁷⁹ "I necrologi eusebiani", no. 172, p. 383.

⁸⁰ Fonseca, "Ricerche", pp. 211–216.

⁸¹ *Cartario del monastero di Muleggio*, doc. 17, p. 22.

⁸² For Alberto see above, Chapter IV, p. 150, note 150.

⁸³ Mandelli, *Il comune*, III, p. 134. The author's claim that the church already belonged to the Hospital at this time is mistaken. The term *Albareto* probably refers to the fact that there was a poplar wood there. Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 148.

⁸⁴ *Cartario del monastero di Muleggio*, doc. 17, p. 22; Mandelli, *Il comune*, III, p. 269; *Documenti dell'archivio comunale*, doc. 9, p. 19. In a document from 1219 Manfredo Bicchieri appears as one of the collectors of money in Vercelli for those who had been to Outremer. Pastè, "Per la storia", p. 262; Ferraris, *La pieve*, pp. 151–152; Fonseca, "Ricerche", pp. 216–218. In a deed from 1216 a number of Templar properties in Pezzana are listed. Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 50.

and protect the interests of the houses Vercelli, Novara, Isana, Ruspaglia and Ivrea. With this measure it is very likely that he wanted to safeguard the Order's houses in a region that was, at that time, riven by sharp conflicts between communes.⁸⁵

In the same period more evidence of the positive relations between the Temple and the Vercelli episcopate can be found in the last will of cardinal Guala II Bicchieri, son of Guala I and bishop of the city, which contained a legacy for the Templar church (1227).⁸⁶

The preceptor of the Vercelli house, Ardizzone, was present at the Piacenza chapters in 1268 and 1271. In 1294 Fr. Milano was in charge of the house.⁸⁷

The only information relating to this convent during the trial is the publication of the papal bulls on the 21st of January 1310.⁸⁸ At the end of the inquiry it was handed over to the Knights of St. John, who had been present in the town since 1175 at the church of San Leonardo.⁸⁹ To this was then added the house of San Matteo, represented together with the other local houses at the Asti chapter in 1302.⁹⁰ At the end of the fourteenth century, however, San Giacomo had become the main point of reference of the Hospital. In a deed dated 1382, in fact, the *ecclesie Sancti Jacobi de Albareto de Vercellis Ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Yerosolimitani* is referred to without mentioning the churches of San Leonardo or San Matteo.⁹¹

The oratory of Valbissara, in Castelnuovo (close to Pavia), was not part of this Templar preceptory, despite having been previously attributed as such, together with San Leonardo of Vercelli.⁹² The Hospitaller *cabrei* note a little church dedicated San Giacomo on this spot.⁹³ In the *Rationes decimarum* of 1321–1324, however, reference is made to

⁸⁵ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 142–143, 151–152.

⁸⁶ C.D. Fonseca, “Bicchieri, Guala”, *DBI* 10 (Rome, 1968), pp. 314–324; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 51; Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti*, pp. 4–6, 110–120.

⁸⁷ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52; Mandelli, *Il comune*, III, p. 134.

⁸⁸ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 44, p. 289.

⁸⁹ *Le carte dell’Archivio capitolare di Vercelli*, II, doc. 312, p. 8. According to Riccardo Orsenigo the Hospitaller house in Vercelli was already established in 1156. Orsenigo, *Vercelli Sacra*, p. 142.

⁹⁰ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 485, pp. 318–322.

⁹¹ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 729.

⁹² Ferraris, *La pieve*, p. 686.

⁹³ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 736.

a church dedicated to Santa Maria in Castelnovetto.⁹⁴ In the *Estimo delle chiese, dei Benefici e Monasteri della diocesi di Vercelli*, dated 1298–1299, it is noted that the *ecclesia Santi Jacobi Vale piscaria subest ecclesie sancti leonardi milicie hospitaliorum*.⁹⁵ So, the mistaken attribution of the Vercelli church of San Leonardo to the Templars probably led to the other church of the Knights of St. John being attributed to the Temple as well.

The most well known Templar from Vercelli is the provincial master Ugucione,⁹⁶ frequently mentioned in the trial depositions of Italian Templars. In these sources there is also the testimony of another person from Vercelli, the notary Antonio Sicci, who had worked with the Templars in the East. His deposition corroborated the accusations of heresy made against the Order, supporting the theory that the Templars worshipped a mysterious idol.⁹⁷

BERGAMO

Domus or mansio

Church of Santa Maria del Tempio

In 1145 Giselberto, son of Giselberto di Attone, stated in his last will that he was *Ierosolimitano Templo ad serviendum Deo traditus et oblatus*.⁹⁸ Giselberto was thus a lay affiliate of the Templar Order. Although there is no specific mention of a local Templar house in the will, it can be hypothesised that he came into contact with the Order through the Bergamo house. According to a recent study Giselberto was descended from the noble Colleoni family of Bergamo and thus, in that town too the Temple seemed to have met with the favour of the local aristocracy from an early date.⁹⁹ The people of Bergamo's approval of the Knights of the Temple is confirmed in a will bequest dated 1160 in which

⁹⁴ *Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Lombardia et Pedemontium*, ed. M. Rosada, Studi e Testi 324 (Vatican City, 1990), no. 299, p. 61 (for the church of Castelnovetto see *ibid.*, no. 332, p. 62).

⁹⁵ *Acta Reginae montis Oropae. Cartario di Oropea*, eds. G. Ferraris, E. Sella, 2 vols. (Biella, 1945–1948), doc. 18, p. 28.

⁹⁶ See above, Chapter III, pp. 103–105.

⁹⁷ *Le procès*, I, pp. 642–648.

⁹⁸ Bellomo, “Una mansione”, pp. 179–183, doc. 1, pp. 193–194.

⁹⁹ Sala, “Le famiglie”, p. 269 ff.

Girardo Moizonius expressed his wish that his arms (shield, saddle, sword and helmet) should be donated *domui Templi*.¹⁰⁰ Two years later Giovanni Camerario stated in his will that his arms should be left to the Templar house.¹⁰¹ Then, in the will of Mainfredo, son of the late Nicola de Surlasco, six *denari* were left *Mansioni Templi*.¹⁰²

The only deed that has been found regarding the estate of the house of Bergamo is from the rather late date of 1201. It refers to the purchase of some plots of land and a mill situated *ad roborem* in Gorle by Fr. Niger, *minister* of the church of Santa Maria della Mansione *iusta civitatem Pergami*, and Fr. Lanfranco, from the same house.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, the first part of the document is missing and the left margin has been cut away.¹⁰⁴ As well as being the only information found so far on the policies of this house, it also gives us a general idea of its location. Santa Maria was, in fact, situated outside the city walls and was one of the most important churches of the village of Mugazzone, where the main street was called, significantly, *Strata Mansionis*.¹⁰⁵ Not far away was the convent of the Hospital, attested from 1175 on.¹⁰⁶

There is another bequest to the Templars dated 1227. This is contained in the will of the canon and master of the church of Sant'Alessandro, Cresencio, son of the late Frogerio de Sabio, who left a small sum to Santa Maria del Tempio.¹⁰⁷ In 1268 there is a reference to Guglielmo, preceptor of the Bergamo house, and Fr. Giovannibono di Bergamo who attended the provincial chapter of Piacenza. In all probability this person is identifiable as Guglielmo de Caselle, noted as head of this house also in later deeds.¹⁰⁸

In 1272 a dispute was attested to over the entitlement to a will bequest claimed by the Templars of Bergamo. In his will the bishop of Bergamo, Guala da Brescia (1168–1186), had ordered that the remain-

¹⁰⁰ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 86–87.

¹⁰¹ "Arma mea Templo Domini relinquo et proprietatem earum incontinenti transfero, usufructum in me reservo". Antonucci, "Il testamento", pp. 140–141; Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 90–91.

¹⁰² Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 2, pp. 194–196.

¹⁰³ A preceptor named Niger is attested to in Milan in 1215. See above, p. 225.

¹⁰⁴ Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 3, p. 196.

¹⁰⁵ Bellomo, "Una mansione", pp. 184–185. There was also the Humiliati community of the *Domus comunis* here. Cf. M.T. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Milan, 1991), p. 54ff.

¹⁰⁶ Bellomo, "Una mansione", p. 185, note 2.

¹⁰⁷ Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 4, pp. 196–201.

¹⁰⁸ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

der of the alms for the anniversary of his death each year should be given to the poor of the city. Given that this legacy was intended for the poor, the Templars, who were perhaps going through a difficult period, supported by the provost of Santa Brigida of Piacenza and the bishop of Piacenza, had claimed the collected sum as theirs. However, Gregory X ruled against the Military Order, pointing out that the legacy was not intended for the poor in general (in which case part of it could have been given to the Temple), but for the poor of Bergamo.¹⁰⁹ Questions regarding these kinds of entitlements must have been far from simple, as borne out by a later dispute again in Bergamo. In 1276 in Piacenza a sentence of excommunication was issued against *domina* Viviana, wife of the late Guglielmo Mellius, her daughters Laurentia and Concordia and Giovanni de Tussis, *curator* of Laurentia. In their capacity as heirs of the above Guglielmo they were summonsed to appear before Filippo,¹¹⁰ bishop of Piacenza, on the request of Guglielmo, preceptor of the Templar house of Bergamo and *sindicus et procurator* of Bianco da Pigazzano, preceptor of the houses of the Templar Order in Italy. They did not appear when summonsed and this is why they were excommunicated.¹¹¹ The deed makes no mention of the nature of the dispute between the Temple and these people. A second document throws some light on the details. In 1278 Guglielmo de Caselle, *preceptor seu comendator mylicie de Templo de Pergamo et sindicus et procurator magistri milicie de Templo in Italia*, issued a receipt to Martino di Bonfado da Castagneta on behalf of *domina* Concordia, his wife, for the payment of the third of a debt she was owed amounting to twenty-five imperial *lire*.¹¹² The payment ended the sentence of excommunication on Concordia and her sister, due to the fact that the Templars had claimed a will bequest intended for the poor in general, and this had not been granted by the testator's heirs.¹¹³

After this dispute, there is no further information on the Templar *mansio* of Santa Maria in the Bergamo records. One of the few things we know about the trial in Bergamo is that the inquisitors actually went

¹⁰⁹ The pope wrote to the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio and the archpriest of the Milanese church about the dispute, expressing his support for the provost of the church of Bergamo. These letters do not survive in any Milanese Archives.

¹¹⁰ For this bishop of Piacenza see also above, pp. 151, 153.

¹¹¹ Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 5, pp. 201–202.

¹¹² Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 6, pp. 202–204.

¹¹³ This document states that Guglielmo was then at the church of Santa Maria *de Lamaxcem*, not yet identified. Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 6, p. 202, note 1.

to the place, as they wrote to Clement V from there.¹¹⁴ Subsequently, the inquisitor Guglielmo Cigala da Genova, sent two unidentified *fratres* from Cremona to Bergamo.¹¹⁵ They could have been members of the Temple, but, if this were so, it would still be difficult to explain why they were transferred to Bergamo before the arrival of the archiepiscopal vicars in Cremona. Finally, the papal letters on the trial were posted in the church of San Vincenzo on the 6th of December 1309.¹¹⁶

The handing over of this Templar house to the Knights of St. John is documented in records from the sixteenth century.¹¹⁷ Both the Knights of St. John house and the former Templar house are mentioned in the pastoral visit of St. Carlo Borromeo in 1575. In these deeds the church, which belonged to the Temple and had to be repaired in several places, was still dedicated to the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁸ It is only in the seventeenth century that it starts being referred to by the two names of Santa Maria Elisabetta or Sant'Elisabetta del Tempio. In the records of the visit, next to "del Tempio" there is also written "della Masone".¹¹⁹ The church was destroyed in the first half of the twentieth century.¹²⁰

CHIERI

Mansio or *domus*

Church of San Leonardo

The first reference to the Chieri chapel dedicated to San Leonardo is dated 1141, the year in which Innocent II confirmed this place of worship to the provost and canons of Santa Maria di Chieri.¹²¹ It is likely that the Templars established themselves in this church before 1157, the year when their presence is first attested to in the area, close to the hill *de Leores*.¹²²

¹¹⁴ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 131.

¹¹⁵ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 130; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 522.

¹¹⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 335, pp. 537–538.

¹¹⁷ In a note from 1360 about the churches in Bergamo, only the church of the Hospital is listed in the *exemplum exemptorum* category: Bellomo, "Una mansione", p. 190, note 52.

¹¹⁸ *Gli Atti della visita apostolica di S. Carlo Borromeo*, I/2, pp. 311, 318, 322, 333, 335.

¹¹⁹ Bellomo, "Una mansione", p. 191.

¹²⁰ Bellomo, "Una mansione", p. 192.

¹²¹ *Appendice al Libro Rosso*, doc. 13, pp. XII–XV.

¹²² *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 10, pp. 16–17.

This mention predates the first reports of the Templar house in Chieri by more than thirty years, noted in a deed from April 1190 in which Alberico, *magister Templi in Italia, per suos missos (...)* dominum Johannem Martinum et Picinardum et Otonem de Marcenasco, *fratres Templi*, exchanged some land with Ardizzone, provost of the church of Santa Maria di Chieri. Amongst the witnesses were Uberto canaverius, Anselmo de Canonica, Ardicio Barabas, Guido de Civicione and the *fratres* Michele Capaster, Stefano and Giacomo Guglielmo.¹²³ It has been argued that the last three witnesses may have been Templar brethren but this is not stated in the document.¹²⁴ This deed documents the relations that existed between the Chieri house and the canons of Santa Maria, the previous trustees of San Leonardo. With this transaction the *mansio* of Chieri was exempted from twelve *denari* rent that was previously charged for the exchanged land.

In all probability the church of San Leonardo was entrusted to the Temple by the bishop of Turin, a fact that also seems to be borne out by an annuity still paid to the bishop by the Hospitallers who took over the running of the house after the Templars.¹²⁵ It was most likely Carlo (1147–1169), protagonist of a forceful attempt to regain the seized episcopal properties,¹²⁶ who rented this church to the Templars in exchange for an annuity.

San Leonardo stood outside the town, on the continuation of Chieri's main street (now Via Vittorio Emanuele II) just beyond Porta San Domenico on the road to Asti.¹²⁷ The Templar house, positioned on a busy road junction and astutely administered, probably came to manage an estate of a considerable size, as attested to several times in the Chieri land register of 1253. These entries only mention the Templar properties as bordering lands and so all that can be known is which crops were grown on the plots adjacent to those of the Templars, if these were the same as those grown by the Military Order. The places mentioned are *Solanico* or *Selonico*¹²⁸ (predominantly woodland), *Montuxellum*¹²⁹ (vines),

¹²³ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, pp. XXII–XXIII; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 3, p. 153; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 415–416.

¹²⁴ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 225.

¹²⁵ Casiraghi, *La diocesi*, p. 160, note 226.

¹²⁶ Sergi, *L'aristocrazia*, pp. 185–188.

¹²⁷ Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 128.

¹²⁸ *I più antichi catasti*, pp. 11, 78, 111.

¹²⁹ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 12.

*Pavaçano*¹³⁰ (vines), *Gorreta*¹³¹ (crop not specified), *Orbeoso*¹³² (crops grown in plots bordering on Templar land not specified), *Villanova*¹³³ (sedges and woods), *Podio Monsurdi*¹³⁴ (woods), *valle Faxani*¹³⁵ (vines), *Serralonga*¹³⁶ (woods), *Rivoyra*¹³⁷ (land in general), *Gerbo*¹³⁸ (vines) and *Prata*¹³⁹ (perhaps bordering on *Ryvoira*). There are also several mentions in the registers of the *area Sancti Leonardi*, in this case linked to the cultivation of wheat.¹⁴⁰ A land register of 1263 lists the properties owned by the Templars in the Gialvo or Gialdo district, in places called *Plazano*, *Gorreia*, *Monticello*, *Pasqueria* and *Prato affamato*.¹⁴¹ A number of references to Templar possessions in Chieri are also traceable in the records of the Staffarda abbey, again referred to in lists of adjacent lands.¹⁴²

The Templar house is also mentioned in the communal statutes, in which it is noted as being exempt from the set penalties if its livestock were to damage the property of the people of Chieri. Should this occur, the only possible compensation was the payment of a sum agreed with the damaged party to make amends.¹⁴³

Further evidence of the importance of the Templar possessions in this area is the sale of the Temple's property of San Martino in Gorra, a house adjacent to Chieri. This sale was discussed in the provincial chapter held at Asti in October 1203, to be concluded the following December. The main protagonist in the transaction was Rolando Bergognino, *praeceptor mansionis Templi Sancti Martini de Gurra et mansionis Taurini et Carij et Testone quae sunt de Templo*, who acted with the consent of the priest Pietro and that of Giovanni de Mocerella, members of

¹³⁰ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 32.

¹³¹ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 58.

¹³² *I più antichi catasti*, pp. 65, 87.

¹³³ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 104.

¹³⁴ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 118.

¹³⁵ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 153.

¹³⁶ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 155.

¹³⁷ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 181.

¹³⁸ *I più antichi catasti*, pp. 184–185.

¹³⁹ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 207.

¹⁴⁰ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 224.

¹⁴¹ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 418, note 335.

¹⁴² *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda*, I, doc. 108, p. 111, II, doc. 534, p. 134, doc. 541, p. 138, doc. 588, p. 171.

¹⁴³ *Statuti civili del comune di Chieri (1313)*, ed. F. Cognasso, BSSS 76 (Pinerolo, 1913–1924), doc. 361, p. 119.

the above mentioned Templar houses.¹⁴⁴ Bergognino was a character of proven experience in the political and administrative field, already having acted as *credendarius* and consul of the commune of Asti, his native town, and as *podestà* in Chieri and Savigliano.¹⁴⁵ Shortly after joining the Temple he was given the task of running the houses of Chieri, Gorra, Testona and Turin. This administrative centralisation seems to indicate that there was a need to organise the possessions in this area in a coherent, uniform way and was also an implicit acknowledgement of the administrative skills of Rolando. At the same time, the political closeness of the communes of Asti and Chieri, and the fact that somebody from Asti was in charge of the Templar houses on the hills of Turin leads one to believe that there was a certain common intent between the Temple and this commune.¹⁴⁶ The fact that the deed of sale was drawn up in the bishop's palace and signed by Ardizzone, provost di Santa Maria, as well should not be underestimated as this further emphasises the links between the Temple and the bishop of Turin.¹⁴⁷

This sale was related to the commune of Chieri's plan to build a *villanova* in Gorra named Villastellone, which would allow Chieri to make use of the water courses in the area. In all probability the new settlement was established between 1228 and 1236. The delay in putting the plan into effect was probably due to Chieri's subordinate position to other political forces in the area in this period which could have had negative repercussions on the *villanova* as well.¹⁴⁸ In addition, a bitter dispute arose between the commune and the Temple which was not settled until 1245. The settlement was endorsed by Frederick II, whom Chieri supported. The person appointed to resolve the question for the Temple was the provincial master Giacomo de Boscho, *magister et preceptor totius Italie ac procurator* of Grand Master Armand de Périgord¹⁴⁹ and Raimbaut de Caromb,¹⁵⁰ *pauperis milicie Templi citra mare vicem magistris gerens*.¹⁵¹ Giacomo, with the consent of all the brethren of Chieri, together with those of Sant'Egidio, Moncalieri and San Martino in

¹⁴⁴ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, pp. 80–85; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 4, pp. 153–156; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 416–418.

¹⁴⁵ See above, Chapter IV, pp. 159–160.

¹⁴⁶ See above, Chapter IV, pp. 165–166.

¹⁴⁷ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, p. 80, doc. 46, p. 85.

¹⁴⁸ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi nuovi*, p. 32ff.

¹⁴⁹ For Armand de Périgord see Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, pp. 189–210.

¹⁵⁰ For Raimbaut de Caromb see Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, *ad indicem*.

¹⁵¹ The agreement should have been ratified by the Grand Master of the Order and the general chapter.

Gorra, expressed their wish to reach an agreement with Chieri over the sale transacted by Rolando Bergognino.¹⁵² The agreements reached between the two parties show that the failure to specify the sphere of authority of the two settlements, i.e. the Templar house and the *villanova* of Chieri, was the probable cause of the conflict which was very likely to have been further exacerbated by the differences between Chieri and Moncalieri.¹⁵³

In all likelihood it was also the tension between Chieri and Testona and the bishop of Turin influence that stopped the houses from being run jointly in the way Bergognino had done, resulting in the appointment of different preceptors for the Templar convents in these places. The names of some of Rolando Bergognino's successors are known: Andrea, preceptor of Chieri, present at the chapter in Cabriolo in 1227,¹⁵⁴ and Isnardo, who was one of the participants in the 1244 provincial chapter.¹⁵⁵ In the 1245 deed he was still in charge of this house and was named along with the priest Giacomo Baudo and Pietro di Paciliano.¹⁵⁶ Another of the Templars named in this document was *dominus* Bonifacio de Maglano (Magliano, near Chieri).¹⁵⁷ In the testimony of Lanfranco di Fiorenzuola, a certain Isnardo was also referred to as lieutenant of the Master of Lombardy in around 1260. Unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain if he had previously been the head of the house of Chieri.¹⁵⁸ In 1268 Alberto di Canelli attended the provincial chapter held in Piacenza as preceptor of Asti, Chieri and San Martino in Gorra, whereas in 1271 he was referred to as head of the Asti house only.¹⁵⁹ In 1224, in a document from the abbey of Casanova, two Templars from the Chieri house were noted, a priest, Pietro and a *canavarius* of the same name, witnesses to a sale.¹⁶⁰

The quarrels between the Temple and the commune of Chieri were not yet over. In 1285 a farmstead belonging to the Order was destroyed in a fire. After this event the commune and the Temple came to an agreement by which Chieri was obliged to rebuild the farmstead. If

¹⁵² *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 8, pp. 160–169; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 421–425.

¹⁵³ See above, Chapter IV, pp. 163–167, and below, pp. 286–287.

¹⁵⁴ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹⁵⁵ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

¹⁵⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

¹⁵⁷ Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 140.

¹⁵⁸ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 491.

¹⁵⁹ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁶⁰ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 211, p. 174.

the same thing were to happen again, the commune would have to reimburse the Order within two weeks. If, however, the fire was caused by the carelessness of the people living in the damaged buildings, the commune would not have to pay anything.¹⁶¹ This solution makes one think that Chieri's responsibility for the destruction of the *cassina seu tectum domus Sancti Leonardi* was clearly demonstrable, to the extent of agreeing to reconstruct the farmstead free of charge for the Temple. The Military Order also safeguarded itself against any future damage, stating very clearly that acts of this kind must not happen again. The inclusion of these provisions in the commune's collection of documents highlights not only the importance of the agreement but also the Temple's desire to protect itself against possible future reoccurrences of the event. These documents show that there was a definite state of tension between the Order and Chieri, but, unfortunately, we do not know what caused it.¹⁶² What is worth noting, however, is that the Temple was represented by the preceptors from Asti and Pavia in the settlement of the dispute. The task was probably given to them because the Chieri Templars were too embroiled in the quarrel with the local commune. Master Rolando,¹⁶³ founder of the Mortara provostship of Sant'Andrea, papal chaplain and canon of Asti, acted as arbiter, and what is interesting is that a sentence in the Temple's favour was pronounced by a clergyman who was not only close to the papal court but also, and above all, from Asti, where the Temple had one of its main houses in the area.

The 1285 dispute is the last mention of the Temple in Chieri before the end of the Order. Unfortunately, the trial records provide no information on this house during the proceedings. What is certain, however, is that eventually it went to the Knights of St. John. In 1336 some citizens of Chieri, who were in possession of lands belonging to the Hospitaller house of San Leonardo and San Giovanni, were ordered to pay compensation to the local commune.¹⁶⁴ The church of San Leonardo

¹⁶¹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 10, pp. 170–171; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 426–427.

¹⁶² These slight disagreements are further brought to light by the wish, expressed in the sentence, for peace to “grow and multiply”. Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 130.

¹⁶³ L.M. Lo Schiavo, *Da Mortara a Fregionaià. Annali dal 1083 al 1402* (Naples, 1985), p. 230, doc. H, pp. 381–384; *Statuti civili*, nos. 366–372, pp. 122–126.

¹⁶⁴ *Statuta et Capitula Societatis Sancti Georgii seu populi Cariensis*, ed. C. Dolza, BSSS 140/2 (Turin, 1950), nos. 1036–1037, pp. 35–38. In all probability this refers to the oratory of San Giovanni in Trofarello. Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 438.

was rebuilt in the fifteenth century and nothing remains of the original building.¹⁶⁵ It was later incorporated with the church of San Lazzaro.¹⁶⁶ In 1566 the estates of both institutions were assigned to the seminary of Turin.¹⁶⁷ The San Leonardo complex, which was left in a state of neglect for quite some time,¹⁶⁸ is now part of the local Istituto Salesiano.

GENOA

Domus

Church of Santa Fede

The Templars' headquarters in Genoa were at the church of Santa Fede in the Prè district, on the shore. Until 1336 this was outside the city walls, near the gate of the same name, "Santa Fede".¹⁶⁹ The Templar house was situated on a road which ran all the way through the city and was parallel to the coast.¹⁷⁰ In the thirteenth century there was a quay near the Templar convent.¹⁷¹

The earliest reference to this church dates back to 1142 when the monastery of San Siro sold some land situated *in fosato de sancta Fide*¹⁷² to Ansaldo Vacca. In the same year reference was made to the church of Santa Fede in the *Liber Censuum*.¹⁷³

These attestations made no mention of the Templars, who were referred to for the first time in a deed from 1156 in which Raimondo Pictenado, a merchant of French origin but living in Genoa, bequeathed

¹⁶⁵ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 427; Tosco, "Architetture", p. 61.

¹⁶⁶ Casiraghi, "Fondazioni templari", p. 130.

¹⁶⁷ For the modern events related to San Leonardo and a bibliography on San Lazzaro see Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 430–439; Casiraghi, "Fondazioni templari", pp. 130–131.

¹⁶⁸ A. Cavallari Murat, *Antologia monumentale di Chieri* (Turin, 1968), p. 32.

¹⁶⁹ *I Libri iurium*, I/1, doc. 247, p. 355; Grossi Bianchi, Poleggi, *Una città*, pp. 46, 61, 52–53 (tab. II, no. 48), 116, 169.

¹⁷⁰ Grossi Bianchi, Poleggi, *Una città*, tab. II, pp. 52–53.

¹⁷¹ Grossi Bianchi, Poleggi, *Una città*, tab. V, pp. 94–95, no. 13, tab. VI, no. 27, pp. 124–125. The *pontilis Sancte Fidis* is mentioned in *I Libri iurium*, I/3, doc. 496, p. 123.

¹⁷² *Le carte del monastero di S. Siro*, I, (952–1224), doc. 104, pp. 162–163; Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 3.

¹⁷³ *Liber Censuum*, I, p. 75. Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain if the Roman Church was involved in the settlement of a Templar community here.

them a sum of money.¹⁷⁴ Five years later another document attested to the definite presence of the Templars in Santa Fede. In 1161 the presbyter Federico of Santa Fede and Marchese Bonavita, *confrares Dominici Templi*, sold some property in Fegino in order to be able to build a bell tower or restore their church.¹⁷⁵ In the subsequent documents there are a number of references to the zone around the church of the Temple and the people living there.¹⁷⁶

In 1201 Raisia di Vassallo Cicala made a bequest in her will to finance the works that have to be undertaken on the Templar church.¹⁷⁷ In 1203 a presbyter of the church of Santa Fede, Enrico, rented some land cultivated with vines in Camogli, *ubi dicitur Rivalta*, to Ponzio di Camogli for twenty-nine years.¹⁷⁸

In the will of Giovanni da Voltaggio, in 1214, a number of legacies were left to Genoese churches, including Santa Fede.¹⁷⁹ Lorenzo Tacchella has dated the fragment of a deed in which Rogerio, preceptor of the church of Santa Fede of Genoa, chose his procurator, Raul di Campagna, and gave him the task of procuring the alms collected by Isnardo da Bologna and Guido Fuscignaria between Genoa and Monaco, to the same year. However, given that a preceptor named Rogerio from the Genoa house was documented as being at the Piacenza chapter of 1244, it is highly likely that this undated document, which was placed in the cartulary of the notary Enrico de Porta but was not actually part of it, could be from this period.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴ *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 47, p. 24; L. Persoglio, *Memorie della Chiesa di S. Fede* (Genoa, 1873), p. 43; Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, p. 14.

¹⁷⁵ *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 795, p. 427; Persoglio, *Memorie*, p. 43; Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, p. 136; Grossi Bianchi, Poleggi, *Una città portuale*, p. 46. We do not know whether the Order had other property in Fegino. The Hospitaller house here was not established in the period after the dissolution of the Temple through the expropriation of its property, but was founded as an independent convent in the fifteenth century. Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, p. 166.

¹⁷⁶ *Guglielmo Cassinese*, I, doc. 832, p. 333, doc. 959, p. 380; *Giovanni di Guiberto (1200–1211)*, eds. M.W. Hall-Cole, H.G. Krueger, R.L. Reynolds, 2 vols., *Notai genovesi del sec. XII 5* (Genoa, 1939–1940), I, doc. 237, p. 122, doc. 349, p. 172; *Lanfranco (1202–1226)*, I, doc. 183, p. 85, doc. 232, p. 106, doc. 321, pp. 148–149, doc. 901, p. 394; *Le carte del monastero di S. Siro*, I, doc. 289, p. 360; Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Enrico de Porta, cartulario 19, July 1232, fols. 44^v–45^r.

¹⁷⁷ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁸ *Lanfranco*, I, doc. 289, p. 134.

¹⁷⁹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁰ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 11–13; Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178. In 1233 Ruggero, *frater domus milicie Tempri de Ultramare*, received the rent for the church and

As regards the brethren of Santa Fede, a reference from May 1239 states that the Templars of Genoa and Acqui, at the request of Gregory IX, were asked to pay part of the expenses of a Genoese delegation visiting Rome.¹⁸¹

In 1249, in the last will of Zaccaria de Mari, perhaps a member of an illustrious consular family, a legacy was bequeathed to the Genoese Templar house.¹⁸² In the same year Beltramo de Dureca left twenty *soldi* to the church of Santa Fede for his funeral service.¹⁸³

In this period there is also a reference to a Roman preceptor who originated from Genoa. An inscription dated 1244 talks of FR(ATER) PETRVS IA(N)UENSIS MAGI(S)T(ER) DOMORV(M) MILITIE TE(M)PLI ROME.¹⁸⁴ It has been argued that this person is identifiable as the Master of Italy Pietro Fernandi, attested to in 1259, but there is nothing to confirm this hypothesis.¹⁸⁵ It could be, though, that the presence of a Ligurian provincial master had something to do with the influence of Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi, from Genoa), during whose papacy a number of ecclesiastical offices in the East were also assigned to his fellow citizens.¹⁸⁶

In 1254 the *preceptor domorum templi in lumbardia* Guglielmo di Bubbio appointed his procurator and *syndicus* Vivaldo de Vecia, who, in turn, gave Guglielmo Ridolfino de Palma the task of completing the collection of alms and income due to the Templars in the dioceses of Tortona and in Valle Scrivia.¹⁸⁷

In 1289 Nicholas IV asked the Templars in the archdiocese of Genoa to pay the tithe for the *negocium Regni Sicilie*.¹⁸⁸

The first attestation to the Templar church being raised to the level of parish church dates from 1302. In this year two Hospitaller affli-

land of San Calocero from Simone, bishop of Albenga. The payment receipt was issued in Genoa. Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 99.

¹⁸¹ *Acta imperii*, II, doc. 1029, p. 691.

¹⁸² Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Giovanni de Predono, cartulario 18, fol. 351r; Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 23–24; Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 133. For the de Mari family see J.-A. Cancellieri, “De Mari”, *DBI* 38 (Rome, 1990), pp. 478–499.

¹⁸³ Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Giovanni de Predono, cartulario 18, fol. 351r; Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 24.

¹⁸⁴ Pistilli, “Due tipologie”, p. 171, fig. 14, p. 192; Riccioni, “Di un’iscrizione”, pp. 275–293.

¹⁸⁵ Pistilli, “Due tipologie”, p. 171; Riccioni, “Di un’iscrizione”, p. 278.

¹⁸⁶ Ferretto, “I genovesi”, pp. 353–368.

¹⁸⁷ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109.

¹⁸⁸ *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, I, doc. 1146, p. 240.

ates, Garexio d'Altavilla and Alaxia, were granted by the Hospital the usufruct rights on some property belonging to the convent of Gavi and on a house in the Genoese parish of Santa Fede.¹⁸⁹

In the early fourteenth century two Genoese Templars were attested to in Cyprus: they were Pietro, *accarator Templi*,¹⁹⁰ and the sergeant Francesco.¹⁹¹

After 1312 the church of Santa Fede was taken over by the Knights of St. John.¹⁹² In 1370 Gregorio da Vellatro, procurator of San Giovanni di Prè, paid one *lira* and three *soldi* in tax for the church of Santa Fede.¹⁹³ According to the inquiry records from 1373 on the state of the Hospitaller possessions, the church of Santa Fede brought no income to the local commendam.¹⁹⁴ Finally, in 1385 the *Registro della Curia arcivescovile* includes the *hospitales Sancti Johannis cum ecclesia Sancte Fidei* in the list of churches in the archdiocese.¹⁹⁵

Despite the dissolution of the Temple a number of Genoese people continued to show their preference for this church, as attested to by the fact that in 1345 Domenico Ultramarino expressed his wish to be buried in Santa Fede *in monumento antecessorum suorum*.¹⁹⁶

The church now dedicated to Santa Fede in Genoa is not the one where the Templars stayed. Of the original building we know that the façade changed position several times,¹⁹⁷ and when the nearby road was widened in 1788 this caused the church's nave to be shortened by two arches.¹⁹⁸

¹⁸⁹ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 485, p. 320.

¹⁹⁰ *Actes passes*, docs. 76–78, pp. 44–45.

¹⁹¹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 191, 320–323; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 115–116, 286–288. Giovanni Salvagio da Genova was preceptor of the house of Barletta in 1202 and the house of Ruvo in 1204. Guzzo, *Templari*, pp. 45, 95. Fr. Pietro di Genova took part in the provincial chapter held in Piacenza in 1271. Pietro de Genua, *magister ordinis templariorum*, is attested to in Barletta in 1279. It is not possible to ascertain if they were the same person. Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52; Bramato, *Storia*, II, no. 341, p. 153.

¹⁹² It is hypothesised that this happened between 1315 and 1316. Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 24–25.

¹⁹³ Persoglio, *Memorie*, p. 43.

¹⁹⁴ Luttrell, “Gli Ospitalieri a Genova”, p. 225.

¹⁹⁵ *Illustrazione del Registro Arcivescovile*, ed. L.T. Belgrano, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 2/1 (1871), p. 395.

¹⁹⁶ Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Manoscritto 540, *Pandette Richeriane*, p. 319. The surname ‘Ultramarino’ leads one to believe that this family, evidently close to the Templars, had significant relations with the East.

¹⁹⁷ L. De Simoni, *Le Chiese di Genova*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1948), I, p. 207.

¹⁹⁸ De Simoni, *Le Chiese*, I, p. 207; D. Castagna, M.U. Masini, *Guida di Genova* (Genoa,

In the following century this edifice, that still exists, became a store-room and the parish was transferred to an adjacent building.¹⁹⁹

VILLA MAUSONII

The only attestation to a Templar presence here is in a code preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, written in northern Italy in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The code contains the Templar Rule and part of the Order's *Retraits* in both Latin and French. The Latin section of the Templar regulations in the manuscript was approved by a provincial chapter held in *Villa Mausonii*.²⁰⁰ Simonetta Cerrini has determined that the place of origin of these regulations was northern Italy,²⁰¹ and has also argued that the provincial chapter was actually held here in the third quarter of the twelfth century.

Unfortunately, the exact location of *Villa Mausonii* has yet to be found and we cannot exclude that this place was not in the western part of mediaeval Lombardy. Simonetta Cerrini's identification of this place as Masone in Piedmont is purely hypothetical. Masone is at a very important location for communications and was already a point of transit for goods bound for the East in the twelfth century.²⁰² The marquis Guglielmo di Bosco, a member of the family that owned the Masone castle who was related to the noble Ponzone family, had been in Outremer,²⁰³ and Giacomo de Boscho, master of Italy in 1245, was of the same lineage.²⁰⁴ The Masone site, though, is not referred to as *villa* in the records from before the fourteenth century, and is never called *Mausonius*.²⁰⁵

There was a group of buildings called Maussone near Villanova d'Asti,²⁰⁶ and the considerable importance of the Asti area in the Tem-

1929), p. 138. For further information on Santa Fede in the modern age see C. Cattaneo Mallone di Novi, *Gli Hospitalieri*, p. 135 ff.; Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, pp. 137–140.

¹⁹⁹ De Simoni, *Le Chiese*, I, p. 205.

²⁰⁰ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2649, fol. 28^v; Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi", pp. 40–41; Cerrini, "A New Edition", pp. 209–211; Cerrini, "La tradition manuscrite", p. 209–210.

²⁰¹ Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi", p. 41.

²⁰² Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi", p. 41.

²⁰³ Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi", p. 41, notes 35–36.

²⁰⁴ See above, Chapter IV, p. 136.

²⁰⁵ Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi", p. 41.

²⁰⁶ Amati, *Dizionario corografico*, IV, p. 997.

plar province of Lombardy makes it likely that a provincial chapter may have been held there. Unfortunately, no further information has reached us on this small village, whose existence is documented right up to the nineteenth century. We do not know whether it was of mediæval origin and we cannot be certain that there was a Templar house here.²⁰⁷ In this area today there is only a farm called ‘cascina Mansone’, close to the village of Terrazze.

DOMUS OR MANSIO AD SANCTUM APOLLINAREM

In 1164, *in domo mansionis de Templo* located *ad Sanctum Apollinarem*, Guido, the count of Biandrate and his sons Uberto, Guglielmo and Rainerio confirmed the donation to the Temple of all their property *in loco et fundo Sancti Georgii de Canaveso, et ejus territorio, et quae jacent ad locum ubi Ruspalia dicitur*. The deed mentions the preceptor Bonifacio, the simple brother Alcherio, and the *portonarius* Amiso.²⁰⁸

Sant’Apollinare has been identified as a building in the Casalbeltrame-Fisrenge area.²⁰⁹ This church, dedicated to Sant’Apollinare, is noted in the *Liber Cleri* of 1357²¹⁰ and in all probability dates back to an earlier period.²¹¹ According to Luigi Avonto, the house of Sant’Apollinare may have been founded by the counts of Biandrate themselves²¹² and the dedication of the building to a Ravenna saint is a sign that it was connected to this family, as Guido II di Biandrate was elected archbishop of Ravenna in 1160.²¹³ The Temple’s presence in Sant’Apollinare di Casalbeltrame-Fisrenge would correlate to the Order’s settlement pattern, seeing as the place was on some local routes to Biandrate

²⁰⁷ In this area there is also a village named Baussone, located close to Buttigliera.

²⁰⁸ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentium suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fols. 32^v–33^v; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 1, p. 151.

²⁰⁹ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 97–111.

²¹⁰ G. Andenna, “Centri di culto, strutture materiali ed uomini in un territorio in trasformazione: la pieve di Proh-Camodeia dal X al XV secolo”, in M.L. Gavazzoli Tomea, ed., *Novara e la sua terra nei secoli XI e XII. Storia, documenti, architettura* (Novara, 1980), p. 136, note 95.

²¹¹ M.L. Gavazzoli Tomea, “Edifici di culto nell’XI e XII secolo. La pianura e la città”, in Gavazzoli Tomea, ed., *Novara*, p. 41.

²¹² Gavazzoli Tomea, “Edifici”, p. 107.

²¹³ Other relics from Ravenna were kept in Oldenico. G. Donna d’Oldenico, *Oldenico ed altre terre vercellesi tra il Cervo e il Sesia* (Turin, 1967), pp. 18–19.

or Vercelli. Furthermore, this region was increasing rapidly in importance at this time, in part due to the ample supply of irrigation water.²¹⁴

It has also been suggested recently that this Templar house could be identified as the church of Carpignano, which has the same dedication.²¹⁵ Carpignano was part of the Biandrate family's estate²¹⁶ and was well-connected to local road network in mediaeval times.²¹⁷

Unfortunately, both suggestions remain unconfirmed. There is no surviving evidence of the presence of a Templar house in either Fisrengo-Casalbeltrame or Carpignano. Besides, neither of the two buildings in question can be linked to the Order of the Knights of St. John, which presumably, but not definitely, would have inherited the Templar *domus* after 1312. All we know is that, before the sixteenth century, Sant'Apollinare in Fisrengo-Casalbeltrame was the residence of canons regular.²¹⁸ The identity of the Templar house, therefore, remains uncertain, and will continue to do so until new evidence emerges for further research.

RUSPAGLIA

Domus

Church of Santa Maria

In 1164 the counts of Biandrate confirmed the donation of all their possessions *ad locum ubi Ruspalia dicitur et in circuitu*,²¹⁹ close to San Giusto Canavese, to the Temple. The references to the Templar house, probably established thanks to the Biandrates' donation, are few. In 1222 Giacomo de Mellacio, preceptor of the Templar house of Vercelli, was given the task of protecting the interests of the houses of Vercelli, Novara, Isana, Ruspaglia and Ivrea. In the document the Ruspaglia

²¹⁴ Andenna, "La pieve", p. 120.

²¹⁵ S. Fiori, "I Templari di S. Apollinare", in *Atti del XIII Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1995), pp. 19–32.

²¹⁶ Fiori, "I Templari", pp. 21, 28.

²¹⁷ Ferraris, "La pieve", p. 383, note 118.

²¹⁸ Gavazzoli Tomea, "Edifici", p. 99. Fiori argues that the Biandrates had either taken possession of this church again or aided its transfer to a canonic institute. This hypothesis is not proven. Fiori, "I Templari", p. 28.

²¹⁹ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentium suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fols. 32^v–33^v; Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 1, p. 151.

house is referred to as *domus* and dedicated to Santa Maria.²²⁰ Later on Gabriele, *preceptor domus Templi de Ruspalia*, took part in the provincial chapter held in Piacenza in 1271.²²¹

To this day there remains a small church in Ruspaglia that used to belong to the Hospital and that was most probably built by the Templars. It is noted in the record of a prioral visit in 1768.²²² From this document we learn that the church, dedicated to San Giacomo, was part of the commendam of Ivrea. The dedication here is different to that of Santa Maria in the Templar period and probably dates from the time after the house was handed over to the Knights of St. John.²²³ Just a short distance from this church there is a farmstead called “La Commenda”, which the Knights of St. John documents note as belonging to the Order.²²⁴ Given the lack of detailed studies and a whole series of building works and alterations undertaken at different times, it is impossible to know whether any part of the building was actually constructed by the Templars.

MEZZANO CHIANTOLO

Church—dedication unknown

The Templar church of *Mezule* (Mezzano Chiantolo) was attested to in 1164 when it was mentioned as one of the neighbouring buildings to a property rented out by the consuls of Cremona.²²⁵ The church was mentioned again in 1170 in the confirmation of the previous rental agreement.²²⁶ Ten years later, in the same type of document, the presence of *illi de Templo* was again noted in *Mezule*.²²⁷

Even now in Mezzano Chiantolo there is a small oratory consecrated to the Virgin Mary. It stands near the route of the *Postumia* and in mediaeval times would have been next to a branch of the Po. In the 1180 document, in fact, the district was located *ultra Padum*. The church,

²²⁰ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 151.

²²¹ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52.

²²² Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 483.

²²³ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 126; G. Forneris, *Romanico in terre d’Arduino* (Ivrea, 2002), pp. 411–413.

²²⁴ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 483–484.

²²⁵ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 216, p. 130; *Le carte cremonesi*, III, doc. 415, p. 23.

²²⁶ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 258, p. 137; *Le carte cremonesi*, III, doc. 453, p. 85.

²²⁷ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 358, p. 152.

which had gone to ruin in the fifteenth century, was restored several times, maintaining its original single-nave layout.²²⁸ Up to the twentieth century there were still a small tower and other buildings near the oratory, which have since been demolished.²²⁹ Unfortunately, there is no documentary or physical evidence to show that this church belonged to the Temple, and there is no mention of this in local historiography.

CREMONA

Domus or mansio

Church—dedication unknown

The earliest mention of a Templar presence in Cremona dates back to 1165, in the purchase of a plot of land by Alberto da Brescia, *missus* of the Temple.²³⁰ The previous year a Templar church was mentioned as being in the nearby Mezzano Chiantolo.²³¹ This positive introduction is confirmed later by the first mention of the Cremona *mansio* in a deed, which attests to the fact that in 1193 Siccard, bishop of Cremona, gave the local Templar church permission to practice the cure of souls. The parchment has a certain importance in that it authorised the Templars to perform pastoral functions, most probably in response to a need expressed by the faithful of Cremona who made reference to that institution. Furthermore, the bishop who took this measure was a prominent character who had significant links with the Latin East.²³² Unfortunately, the church's dedication is not mentioned in this document. The witnesses to the deed were the abbot of the Ognissanti monastery, an institution located near the Templar house, three men from the *vicinia* of Ognissanti, where the Templar church was, and Martino, *magister domus Templi de Cremona*. After establishing the Templars' sphere of jurisdiction, the bishop stressed that the secular prerogatives of the Ognissanti parish were to remain as before, and that the faithful were to have their wishes respected in choosing between the two burial

²²⁸ A. Gervasoni, *La Chiesa parrocchiale di Croce S. Spirito* (Piacenza, 1995), p. 12.

²²⁹ F. Ombrelli, "I Templari nel territorio cremonese", in *Atti del XVI Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1999), pp. 109, 111, note 28.

²³⁰ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 219, p. 131; *Le carte cremonesi*, III, doc. 417, p. 26.

²³¹ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 216, p. 130; *Le carte cremonesi*, III, doc. 415, p. 23.

²³² From 1202 to 1205 he was in the East as papal legate. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II/2, pp. 108–109.

places.²³³ The new mission undertaken by the Templars was expressed only at a spiritual level. This result was achieved thanks to their connections at a local level and at the same time created a new relationship with their faithful. The charter also mentions the priest Giovanni who was living in the Templar church²³⁴ at that time and was charged with performing its new parochial functions.

According to some scholars, the dedication of the Templar church can be found in documents from the following century. A deed from 1278 makes reference to a church named *Sanctus Johannes de Templo*, holder of some property close to the village of Livrasco.²³⁵ As from 1151, there is also evidence of the presence of the Knights of St. John in Cremona, established in a house known as San Giovanni Battista and later as San Giovanni Vecchio,²³⁶ not far from the Templar house. Given that the dedication to San Giovanni de Templo is used for quite a number of Knights of St. John churches, it seems likely that the attestation in question refers to this church and not the local Templar house.²³⁷ Besides, there is no other document confirming Templar ownership of the Livrasco property. This misunderstanding was probably also contributed to by the fact that the Templar house was close to that of the Knights of St. John. By the modern age local historians were no longer able to identify where it stood and mistook it for either the Hospitaller commendam or the church of Sant'Antonio del Fuoco.²³⁸

According to the current state of research, it would be reasonable to assume that the location of the Templar house was in the area of what is now Via Bernardino Gatti, whereas that of the *vicinia* of

²³³ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 99–100; Greci, “Prime presenze”, p. 410.

²³⁴ We cannot be sure whether he was a member of the Temple or not.

²³⁵ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 959, p. 361; Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 206; Ombrelli, “I Templari nel territorio cremonese”, pp. 104–105.

²³⁶ *Le carte cremonesi*, III, doc. 350, pp. 244–246; G. Sommi Picenardi, “Le Commende e i commendatori di S. Giovanni di Cremona e di S. Giovanni di Persichello”, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, II ser., 15 (1888), pp. 3–22.

²³⁷ On the basis of this attestation Fabio Ombrelli has put forward the hypothesis that there was a Templar grange near Livrasco. Ombrelli, “I Templari nel territorio cremonese”, pp. 104–105. For the expression *de Templo* referring to the Hospitallers see F. Tommasi, “«Templarii» e «Templarii Sancti Iohannis». Una precisazione metodologica”, *Studi Medievali*, III ser., 24 (1983), pp. 373–384.

²³⁸ A. Grandi, *Descrizione della provincia e diocesi cremonese*, 3 vols. (Cremona, 1856–1858, repr. 1981), pp. 311, 326; L. Manini, *Memorie storiche della città di Cremona*, 2 vols. (Cremona, 1819–1820, repr. Bologna, 1985), p. 15; F. Aporti, *Memorie di storia ecclesiastica cremonese*, 2 vols. (Cremona, 1835), I, p. 155.

Ognissanti was where Via Luigi Voghera now is.²³⁹ The Templar house had become one of the main features of this part of the suburb. The nearby city gate was also known as “del Tempio”²⁴⁰ and the district was still called *ad Templum* in 1395.²⁴¹ The same applies to the *strata Templi*, mentioned in a document from 1283.²⁴² Note also that this district was well served by roads, positioned at the junction between the *Postumia* and the road leading to Brescia.²⁴³

The presence of the Templar Order in the Cremona area is further attested to by a letter from Bernardo, bishop of Porto and papal legate in Lombardy, dated 1234 and addressed to the bishop of Cremona, in which Bernardo exhorted the latter to pay a sum of money involving a number of orders in the town, including the Templars.²⁴⁴ Ten years later, Ugo Gosio, preceptor of Cremona, attended the provincial chapter of Piacenza.²⁴⁵ Also, in 1274, a Templar from Cremona by the name of Benadusio was attested to in Lucca.²⁴⁶

In 1285 the provincial master Guglielmo de Noves decided that Moro di Pigazzano and Federico di Barge were to act on behalf of the house of Chieri in a dispute with the local commune. The letters of attorney for these officials were written by Abbaco de Codebove, a Cremona citizen, and the notary *domini Guillelmi de Novis*,²⁴⁷ who also worked for people in the *vicinia* of San Michele Vecchio near the Templar house.²⁴⁸ In 1280 he also wrote some documents on the transfer of the Piacenza hospital of Sant’Egidio della Misericordia to the Temple.²⁴⁹ This confirms the special relationship this notary had with the higher-ranking members of the Order in Lombardy and suggests that the Cremona house had a certain importance in the central area of the Lombard province.

²³⁹ A. Cavalcabò, “Le vicende e i nomi delle contrade di Cremona”, *Bollettino Storico Cremonese*, 3 (1933), p. 20; Tantardini, “I Templari”, p. 280. In this quarter there is also via Porta del Tempio.

²⁴⁰ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, II, doc. 15, p. 4; Cavalcabò, “Le vicende”, pp. 44–45.

²⁴¹ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, II, p. 348; Cavalcabò, “Le vicende”, p. 45, note 3.

²⁴² *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, II, p. 348.

²⁴³ Cavalcabò, “Le vicende”, p. 44.

²⁴⁴ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 1037, pp. 371–372.

²⁴⁵ Campi, *Dell’Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²⁴⁶ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 8, pp. 458–459.

²⁴⁷ *Il «Libro rosso»*, doc. 112, p. 192.

²⁴⁸ Cavalcabò, “Le vicende”, p. 54. This was pointed out to me by E. Filippini.

²⁴⁹ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

In March 1281 Bianco da Pigazzano presided over the running of a number houses in Lombardy and Emilia, including that of Cremona.²⁵⁰ In 1300 the provincial master Ugucione di Vercelli was in Cremona.²⁵¹ Perhaps his presence in the town was linked to the fact that Giacomo, archdeacon of Cremona, was the pope's delegate appointed to supervise questions concerning the Templars.²⁵²

There are further references to the house of Cremona during the period of the trial. Amongst the members of the commission deputed by Clement V to conduct the inquiry in northern Italy there was the local bishop, Rainerio, of whom there is, unfortunately, no further news from 1309 onwards. Rainerio's episcopate was characterised by frequent clashes with the Cremona clergy, which compelled the prelate to have his vicars run the diocese while he was living in Tuscany.²⁵³ These difficulties probably resulted in the bishop neglecting the Templar question at the time of the trial.²⁵⁴

On arriving in Cremona from Piacenza, the archiepiscopal vicars had the papal bulls published on the 23rd of November 1309²⁵⁵ and were brought the inventory of the Order's local estate.²⁵⁶ Administering the houses of Piacenza and Cremona had called for particular efforts by the inquisitor, Guglielmo Cigala, and his work had become itinerant. He often had to pay for travel from town to town by boat or overnight stays in hospices. There were also numerous expenditure items in his accounts related to the detention of three Templars in Cremona.²⁵⁷ Several sums of money were paid for the restoration of the Templar house and adjoining buildings.²⁵⁸ Also, a priest had continued to officiate at the Templar church in this period and had to be remunerated.²⁵⁹ The inquisitor's frequent absences and the efforts required to wind up the administration of the Templar estate in a satisfactory manner made it

²⁵⁰ See above, note 249.

²⁵¹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 6, pp. 218–219.

²⁵² Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 5, p. 373.

²⁵³ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II/2, pp. 144–145; Tantardini, "I Templari", p. 285.

²⁵⁴ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, pp. 124–125.

²⁵⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 333, pp. 534–535.

²⁵⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 514–523; doc. 334, pp. 536–537.

²⁵⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 530.

²⁵⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 520–521.

²⁵⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 519–520.

necessary for him to engage a *comandator* who took charge of the farming work in the more busier moments.

The inventory of the moveable items confiscated in the *domus* of Cremona lies in a separate document in which the different farming products (cereals, fodder, etc.) stored in the *mansio* are also listed. The inquisitor also noted that the documents on the house were simply kept in a bag, as per normal practice.²⁶⁰

According to the inquisitorial inventories, the house's income mainly consisted of the rent collected from a total of almost 150 tenants which, during the inquisitorial administration period, would have amounted to a considerable sum.²⁶¹ This income was added to by the cultivation of cereals and vines. The recurrence of several surnames (Ferrari, de Penesellis, de Lamo etc.) shows how different family groups had had multi-layered relationships with the Templar house.²⁶² Amongst the different bodies listed as having links with the Templars in this inventory was the Humiliati house of San Cataldo.²⁶³

At the end of the trial the Templar house was passed on to the Hospitallers.²⁶⁴ In a *cabreum* from 1659 there is a plot of land still called "orto del Tempio". It lay near Porta Ognissanti (a new gate built to replace the Porta del Tempio), and until 1647 there was a house on this land that may, absolutely hypothetically, have been a last remaining part of the Templar house or a nearby building.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 334, pp. 536–537.

²⁶¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 514–518.

²⁶² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 334, pp. 536–537.

²⁶³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, pp. 515, 517. The Templar depositions from the trial name the brethren Bartolomeo da Cremona and Geniso da Cremona (probably a mistaken transcription of Cremona). The records also note a certain Ymberta de Cremona, perhaps identifiable as a *soror* of the Temple or as the Templar Humbert de Crimen or Cremi. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 186, 304–308; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 109, 110, note 203; *Le procès*, II, pp. 352, 366; Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang* II, pp. 359–360; Tommasi, "Uomini e donne", p. 196, note 79.

²⁶⁴ Grandi, *Descrizione*, pp. 311–312; Manini, *Memorie*, p. 15.

²⁶⁵ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo religione, Cabrei, Cremona, cartella 4047, anno 1689; Ombrelli, "I Templari", p. 104.

PIACENZA

Mansio or *domus*Church of Santa Maria del Tempio
Hospital and church of Sant' Egidio della Misericordia

The house of Piacenza was one of the fulcrums of the Templar presence in Italy. This pre-eminence is explained by the city's favourable geographical position lying approximately at the centre of the district of Lombardy and in relation to the local road network. Also of significance are the links it had with the Latin East, based on events such as the Council of Piacenza in 1095 and the engagement in the Lombard Crusade (1100–1101), together with the pilgrimage of Saint Raimondo Palmerio (1140–1200) and trade contacts.²⁶⁶

The earliest attestation to the Piacenza Templar house dates from thirty years after the first mentions of the Order in Lombardy, even though local tradition has it that there was already a Templar convent there in the first half of the twelfth century.²⁶⁷ As regards the foundation of this house, a possible link has been suggested with a visit to the city by St. Bernard.²⁶⁸ In truth, none of these theories are borne out by documentary evidence, just as the reconstructions attributing Piacenza origins to the first and last Grand Masters of the Temple, Hugh of Payns (claimed to be a descendant of the local Pagani family) and James of Molay (confused with Giacomo da Montecucco), are mistaken.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ P. Racine, ed., *Piacenza e la prima crociata* (Piacenza, 1995); P. Racine, "La Chiesa piacentina nell'età del comune", in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, pp. 359–351; A. Vauchez, "Raimondo Palmerio", *BSS* 11 (Rome, 1968), cols. 26–29; P. Racine, "Il traffico dei piacentini verso la Terrasanta", *Bollettino Storico Piacentino*, 60 (1965), pp. 113–122; Zaninoni, "La città", pp. 165–166; Racine, *Plaisance*, I, pp. 328–334.

²⁶⁷ There was a mid-eighteenth century memorial tablet in Santa Maria del Tempio stating that it was already built at the end of the eleventh century. If this was so, the building predated the arrival of the Templars. This evidence, given its late date, cannot be taken as conclusive. Agazzari's *Chronica civitatis Placentiae* notes the year of the founding of the Order the Temple as 1128. Giovanni Agazzari, *Chronica civitatis Placentiae*, in *Chronica civitatis Placentiae Johannis Agazzari et Antonii Francisci Villa* (Parma, 1857), p. 16.

²⁶⁸ Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 102.

²⁶⁹ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, p. 396, II, pp. 5, 353; Poggiali, *Memorie*, IV, pp. 98–99; G.A. Tononi, "I Templari nel Piacentino", *Strenna Piacentina* (1885), pp. 1–9, 21–28; G.A. Tononi, "Ancora sui Templari nel Piacentino. 1308–1312", *Strenna Piacentina* (1895), pp. 151–166. In this case, Montecucco too is said to have originated from Piacenza.

Based on the conviction that the Templars initially had their headquarters at the hospital of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia, a local historian called Pietro Maria Campi dated the arrival of the Templars in Piacenza to 1154, the year of the first mention of an association of *fratres* working in the hospital, founded by a certain Ugo (in this case confused with Hugh of Payns).²⁷⁰ The loss of this document and the lack of any attestation to a Templar presence in Sant'Egidio before 1280 make this hypothesis untenable.²⁷¹

The will of Gisla de Bruni, issued in Piacenza in 1180, referred to a *consorcium Templi*, along with other local hospital bodies.²⁷² It could thus be possible that this association too dedicated itself to charitable work. It should also be noted that the hospital of Sant'Egidio was mentioned separately to the Temple in the deed²⁷³ and this makes its extraneity to the Military Order even more apparent. In 1195 Giovanni Schivalosso left *Hospitali Templi* twelve *denari*. The mention in the same document of a *hospitalis sancti Iohannis de Ultramar*e confirms that the previous reference was actually to the Temple.²⁷⁴ Unfortunately, there are no further attestations to the Templar hospital and we are unable to determine whether the association of 1180 actually did charitable work there.

The first mention of the Templars being in Piacenza occurs thus in 1172. A charter, dated November of that year, notes that Ottone and Rainerio, *ministri ecclesie S. Marie Templi* of Piacenza, came to an agreement with Adelasia, abbess of the monastery of San Siro, on carrying out a series of restoration works on the bridges next to the two houses.²⁷⁵ The Piacenza Templar house stood on an important travel route. It was outside the city walls in the south-west of the suburb, next

²⁷⁰ Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 98.

²⁷¹ Local historians Scarabelli and Poggiali tended to put the date of the arrival of the Templars in Piacenza even earlier, to 1127. Scarabelli claimed that the local bishop supported the Templars and gave them the *mansio* of Sant'Elena, which was then called Santa Maria. In actual fact, none of these claims are proven. L. Scarabelli, *Istoria civile dei Ducati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla*, 2 vols. (s.l., 1846), I, pp. 248, 305; Poggiali, *Memorie*, IV, pp. 98–99.

²⁷² Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 52. For the meaning of the word *consortium* see above, Chapter III, note 296.

²⁷³ For the hospitalists in Piacenza see Racine, "Povertà", pp. 505–520.

²⁷⁴ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 78. A local Hospitaller house is also mentioned in *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 485, pp. 321.

²⁷⁵ *Le carte degli Archivi parmensi*, III, doc. 419, pp. 338–339.

to the roads heading south out of Piacenza.²⁷⁶ There were also many water courses in this district, which explains why the Templars were so concerned about the bridges on the traffic routes. This is further confirmed in 1180 by the settlement of a dispute, also involving the Temple, over the water access rights of a number of bodies and individuals with property in the vicinity of the *Rivus Vetus*. In the end Santa Maria del Tempio obtained the right to use the public waterways in return for, amongst other things, renouncing its previous rights and taking on the maintenance work.²⁷⁷ The year after, a payment receipt from the marquis Obizzo Malaspina to the commune was issued in *clauastro Sancte Marie Templi prope fossatum civitatis Placentie*,²⁷⁸ whereas in November 1229 Guglielmo Cosciadoca rented a plot of land in the old city moat, close to Santa Maria del Tempio.²⁷⁹ Note that in 1253 the Templars quarrelled with the Dominicans of the neighbouring church of San Giovanni in Canale (another name indicative of the characteristics of the area), again over a question of water rights. The dispute was settled by the erection of three stone columns surmounted by a cross, marking the boundaries of the jurisdiction of the two churches. One of these columns is still standing in the square of San Giovanni in Canale.²⁸⁰ Also, Santa Maria del Tempio stood in a zone under Guelph influence, near the palace of the Scotti counts, who were the leaders of this faction.²⁸¹

The 1181 document regarding the marquis Obizzo Malaspina attests to the fact that the church cloister was already built by that date.²⁸² Santa Maria, a single-nave building, was in the south-east corner of the portico.²⁸³ In 1279 the Templars started building the new church bell tower. This tower, which collapsed in modern times, appears in some sketches by Renaissance architect Antonio da Sangallo the Younger

²⁷⁶ Zaninoni, "La città", p. 155 ff.

²⁷⁷ *Le carte degli Archivi parmensi*, III, doc. 509, pp. 400–402; P. Castignoli, "Piacenza e il Barbarossa", in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, p. 179.

²⁷⁸ *Il Registrum Magnum*, I, doc. 181, p. 397.

²⁷⁹ *Il Registrum Magnum*, III, doc. 655, p. 15.

²⁸⁰ The Templar Oberto is named in the deed of settlement of the dispute. Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 25th September 1253.

²⁸¹ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, p. 40; Zaninoni, "La Domus", p. 454 and, in particular, note 25; Codagnello, *Chronicon*, p. 1.

²⁸² Serena, "I Templari", p. 48. On p. 49 there are some photographs of the cloister, dating back to the fifties, and on p. 50 there is a map of the Templar complex.

²⁸³ Serena, "I Templari", p. 47.

(Figure 1), who had been impressed by the intricacy of this Gothic construction, with its superimposed floors and spires.²⁸⁴

This complex became one of the points of reference in city life. As mentioned previously, a payment receipt from the marquis Obizzo Malaspina to the commune was issued in Santa Maria, and here in 1187²⁸⁵ the Piacenza citizens selected some *rectores*, who then oversaw the procedure for the election of the *podestà*, Giacomo Mainerio from Milan, whose task was to mediate between nobles and *popolari*.²⁸⁶ In 1204 Innocent III wrote to the people of Piacenza, excommunicated because of a dispute between the commune and the local bishop,²⁸⁷ telling them that they were not to consider themselves exonerated from the excommunication order, even though they had received a papal letter via the Templars.²⁸⁸

The importance of this Templar house is then further confirmed by the fact that, in February 1220, in *presbiterio ecclesie de Templo*, the consuls and ambassadors of Milan asked the *podestà* of Piacenza to mediate in negotiations between the *militēs* and the *popolo* of Milan.²⁸⁹ In 1250, again in the church of Santa Maria del Tempio, there was an assembly to approve the *statutum* of the *societas populi*.²⁹⁰ Considering that the *podestà* of Piacenza in 1220 were Greco Fornario and Guido da Crema, who belonged to the popular faction, the last two pieces of evidence (and perhaps also the 1187 mention) imply a closeness between the Temple and this political faction, although we are unable to go into more detail about this. It is interesting, however, that the leadership of the *societas populi* in this period was in the hands of the Fontana family,²⁹¹ who we know had joined the Temple by the end of the thirteenth century.

²⁸⁴ The drawing was mistakenly attributed to San Giovanni del Tempio. Valentini, “La torre”, p. 138. Instead of analysing the building structure, the author reverts to making rather unlikely symbolic interpretations.

²⁸⁵ For the relations between the Piacenza commune and the Malaspinas see P. Racine, “Lo sviluppo dell’economia urbana”, in *Storia di Piacenza*, II, pp. 91–92.

²⁸⁶ Codagnello, *Chronicon*, pp. 15–16; Racine, *Plaisance*, I, p. 412, II, 899–890, 904.

²⁸⁷ Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 52–59.

²⁸⁸ *Die register Innocenz’ III.*, VII, docs. 173–175, pp. 309–311, doc. 224, p. 397; Racine, “Il movimento ereticale”, p. 385; Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 52–59. See also above, Chapter IV, p. 171.

²⁸⁹ *Gli atti del Comune di Milano*, I, doc. 54, p. 76.

²⁹⁰ *Chronicon Placentinum*, p. 193; Racine, *Plaisance*, II, p. 745.

²⁹¹ Racine, “La discordia civile”, p. 251.

A further sign of the favourable attitude towards the Templars and the way the people of Piacenza had a clear perception of the aims of this Order can be seen in the last will of the *miles* Bonifacio Ruxano, who, in 1235, left his arms and the resulting sum from the sale of his horse to the Temple.²⁹²

The first mention of a preceptor of the Piacenza *mansio*, Ottone Barba Scovata, is found in a deed from 1214 relating to the Templar house of Fiorenzuola.²⁹³ Amongst those present at the drafting of this document was a certain Giovanni Codagnello, who can be identified as a notary and chronicler from the town.²⁹⁴ According to the ecclesiastical *Successiones* of Francesco Nicolli, in 1176 Rainerio was *minister* of the church of Santa Maria del Tempio, whilst in 1180 Fr. Fulco was a *missus* of the house.²⁹⁵ In 1244 Nicola de Celori was named preceptor of Santa Maria in the provincial chapter held in Piacenza.²⁹⁶ Another Templar assize was held in Piacenza in February 1268, when the preceptors and representatives of numerous houses in the Lombardy area met in the local *mansio* to discuss the dispute over the hospital of Sant'Ambrogio in Modena, assigned to the Temple, but then claimed by the local bishop and commune.²⁹⁷ Three years later, in a second provincial meeting, again in Piacenza, the same question was discussed again.²⁹⁸ Other provincial chapters held in Piacenza are mentioned in the trial testimonies of some Italian Templars. In 1281 an assembly took place in Piacenza attended by thirty brethren.²⁹⁹ The provincial chapter may have met here in 1291 as well.³⁰⁰ In 1306 too, twenty brethren met in Piacenza.³⁰¹

In the meantime, Bianco da Pigazzano or da Piacenza had become the new head of the house. Previously, in 1244, he had been noted as preceptor of the convent of Asti³⁰² and in 1255 may be identifiable as

²⁹² Parma, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico, no. 1685.

²⁹³ "Le pergamene ritrovate", pp. 87–89; Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 100, note 2.

²⁹⁴ G. Arnaldi, "Codagnello, Giovanni", DBI 27 (Rome, 1982), pp. 562–568.

²⁹⁵ Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 100, note 2.

²⁹⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²⁹⁷ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48–49. For the Templar house in Modena see Dondi, "*Missale Vetus*", pp. 339–366.

²⁹⁸ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 50–52.

²⁹⁹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 461–465.

³⁰⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 465.

³⁰¹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 478, 479, 485, 486.

³⁰² Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

one of the witnesses to the drafting of a deed by the Master of Italy Dalmazio de Fenolar.³⁰³ In 1266 Bianco appeared as preceptor of Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza and the *mansio* of Milan. He had also acted as representative of the provincial master in Lombardy.³⁰⁴ In 1267 he was appointed *preceptor mansionis Placentie et rector et minister pro Templo in Lombardia*.³⁰⁵ In 1268 the provincial chapter named him *sindicum, actorem, et procuratorem* of the Temple and he, in turn, appointed Guglielmo di Alessandria, preceptor of the house of Modena, as his representative in the dispute with the local commune regarding the hospice of Sant'Ambrogio.³⁰⁶ The agreements reached on this dispute were approved by the 1271 chapter. On this occasion Bianco was referred to as preceptor of the Templar houses of Piacenza and Milan, as well as *tenens locum magistri in tota bavilia Lumbardie*.³⁰⁷ After being promoted to Master of Italy (1276–1278),³⁰⁸ in 1281 he was also directly responsible for the houses of Milan, Pavia, Torricella Verzate, Piacenza, Fiorenzuola d'Arda, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo and Montesordo di Cermenate, and, in this capacity, he transferred the rent entitlement on some of the Order's properties to Filippo, bishop of Piacenza, in return for not having to pay the annuity for the assignment of the hospital of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia.³⁰⁹ Finally, a number of Templars questioned during the trial stated that they had been admitted by Bianco in the period between 1282 and 1286 in Piacenza, through heretical practices. The complex of Santa Maria di Piacenza is said to be the place where he kept the wooden idol worshipped in the Order's ceremonies.³¹⁰ Later, Bianco was still *domorum militie templi in Italia Generallis preceptor*³¹¹ as well as being in charge of the Lombardy houses.³¹²

As mentioned earlier, in about 1280 the Temple was also put in charge of the hospital of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia. This complex was in the Strata Levata district, outside Porta Santa Brigida.

³⁰³ Bini, "Dei Templari e del loro processo", doc. 3, pp. 441–443.

³⁰⁴ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 224.

³⁰⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 99–101.

³⁰⁶ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 34.

³⁰⁷ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 50–52.

³⁰⁸ Bellomo, "Una mansione", docs. 5–6, pp. 202–203.

³⁰⁹ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 3, cassetta 33, notaio Rufino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

³¹⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 193.

³¹¹ Dondi, "Manoscritti liturgici", p. 96.

³¹² Dondi, "Manoscritti liturgici", p. 97; Bellomo, "Una mansione", docs. 5–6, pp. 201–204.

Its prerogatives were confirmed by the bishop Arduino (1121–1147) and popes such as Eugene III, Athanasius IV and Adrian IV and entered in the *Liber Censuum*.³¹³ It was probably founded by a charitable *consortium* and, perhaps because this brotherhood had a crisis, was assigned to the Templars, in all probability by Filippo, the same bishop who had defended their rights in two disputes in Bergamo in 1272 and 1276. In the above mentioned document of 1281, it is confirmed that the *domus seu mansio, ecclesia et hospitali sancti Egidii de Misericordia a parvo tempore* had come into the hands of the Templars.³¹⁴ In 1286 Alberico was noted as preceptor *domorum milicie Templi et Misericordie*.³¹⁵ From an undated deed, probably issued at the start of the fourteenth century, we know that the appointment of the rector of Sant'Egidio was subject to the ratification of the bishop.³¹⁶

Unfortunately, after the above deeds from 1180 and 1195, no further information is available on the hospital in the town that was perhaps run by the Templars. It is thus impossible to know whether they neglected it for a certain period or stopped doing hospital work or whether, on being invested with Sant'Egidio della Misericordia, they gave away or abandoned their previous hospital building.

The importance of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia was destined to increase because of the transfer of Santa Maria del Tempio to the Dominicans of San Giovanni in Canale.³¹⁷ This transfer was completed in 1304 by Giacomo Fontana, preceptor of Cabriolo, procurator and *syndicus* of Giacomo da Montecucco, *cubicularius* and Master in *Lombar-*

³¹³ Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 16.

³¹⁴ Regarding the other deeds issued for the acquisition of the hospital of Sant'Egidio, reference is also made to Abbaco de Codebove from Cremona, described as the notary of the provincial master Guglielmo de Noves in 1285. This assignment is noted in a number of chronicles of the town. See above, p. 259. The Templar take-over of this hospital is also mentioned in Giovanni Musso, *Cronaca*, RIS 16 (Milan, 1730), col. 481; *Chronicon Placentinum*, p. 332.

³¹⁵ Zaninoni, "La Domus", p. 466.

³¹⁶ Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^r (the cartulary is kept separately along with other restored material). The publication of the election occurred *invocata episcopi gratia*. The good relations between the Templars and the Piacenza clergy are confirmed by the fact that earlier, in 1272, the provost of Santa Brigida and the bishop of Piacenza had taken the Military Order's side in a dispute in Bergamo. Ronchetti, *Memorie*, III, pp. 318–319.

³¹⁷ After the transfer of the headquarters of the Templar community from Santa Maria del Tempio to Sant'Egidio, the latter became the Order's new centre in the town. It was here where some of the admission ceremonies recalled during the trial took place. For example, see "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 470–471.

*dia, Tuscia et Terra Rome.*³¹⁸ With this agreement, the original copy of which has not survived,³¹⁹ the parish church, some houses, the cloister, the neighbouring mill and the water rights on the nearby stream were transferred free of charge to the Dominicans. On the same day they accepted the donation in the presence of Fr. Pietro, *solitus morari in Sancta Maria de Templo*, and Tommasino, *preceptor domus Misericordie de Placentie militie Templi.*³²⁰ The transfer was ratified by both Benedict XI and Clement V.³²¹

Before the transfer was made the pope had already instructed the bishop of Piacenza to protect the local Templars.³²² A short time after this they decided to give up their house to the Dominicans, with whom, it must be said, relations had not always been neighbourly. The transfer responded to the Predicators' need to extend their premises. It should also be noted that the general of the Dominicans in this period, Americo Ziani, was from Piacenza.³²³ Pope Benedict XI, for whom the Templar Master of Lombardy was *cubicularius*, was a member of this order. The Templars' decision to give up Santa Maria without getting anything material in return must have been linked to the difficulties the Order was having at local level and that had already prompted them to ask the pope to intervene. The transfer, in fact, allowed the Piacenza Templars to strengthen their links with the papal court and gain new support. The reasons for this crisis become clearer on analysing the sequence of events in the trial in Piacenza.

In August 1308, the inquisitor Guglielmo Cigala da Genoa took possession of the Templar properties in Piacenza, Cremona, Cotrebbia, Castelnuovo Bocca d'Adda, Fiorenzuola and Montedonico.³²⁴ In some of these places the Order's lands were despoiled and the houses were abandoned. To supervise the running of such a vast estate, Guglielmo

³¹⁸ Campi, *Dell'Historia ecclesiastica*, III, pp. 34–35.

³¹⁹ Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 19, note 3. The deed was drawn up by Floriamonte Garilio on the 7th of June 1304.

³²⁰ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304.

³²¹ "Le pergamene ritrovate", pp. 92–93; Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", pp. 18–19, note 3. There is no longer any trace of Benedict XI's document.

³²² *Les registres de Benoît XI*, doc. 349, col. 248.

³²³ Cf. Mortier, *Histoire*, II, pp. 422–436. The deed of transfer was undersigned by a relative of his. Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, p. 34.

³²⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, pp. 484–487. A brother from this place is noted in Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 478, although there is no mention in the documents of a rural Templar house here.

also engaged two helpers, who substituted for him in his long periods of absence. The inventories of his period of administration were drawn up at the end of November 1309.³²⁵ The papal bulls on the inquiry into the Temple were published in the town on the 11th of November.³²⁶ The rents and payments collected on the houses and land in the Piacenza area and the sale of the produce from the Templar estate (wine, cereals, straw, hay, cheese and timber) had earned consistent sums.³²⁷ Amongst the local bodies that had economic relations with the Templars were the churches of Sant'Eufemia,³²⁸ San Rodengo,³²⁹ Santa Maria de Bigoliis, San Salvatro³³⁰ and the Domus Dei.³³¹

Also, there were some Templars detained in the Piacenza house, and Cigala had diligently entered the expenses for their upkeep and for buying items of clothing and other necessities for them. In particular, Guglielmo notes the measures taken to care for Giacomo Fontana, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, who had been attacked and beaten in August 1308 before being arrested. After this attack, which had also involved the looting and burning of the Templar house, he was ill for a year.³³² The considerable sum of one hundred gold florins, detracted from the amount confiscated from Giacomo himself, was spent during his convalescence. Another of the detainees was Raimondo Fontana,³³³ a relative of his, head of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia, although the exact date of his election is not known. It is noted in an undated deed transcribed in a cartulary of the Piacenza notary Egidio Croso. The documents in the cartulary cover the period 1307–1309 and, given that in 1304 Fr. Tommasino was responsible for the Piacenza Templar house, it could be assumed that Raimondo was elected a little before the start of the inquiry. Leonardo de Arcellis and Riccardo Fontana were witnesses to the proclamation of his election.³³⁴

³²⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 523–534; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 42, pp. 286–287.

³²⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 333, pp. 534–535.

³²⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 330, pp. 512–513.

³²⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 529, 532.

³²⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 532.

³³⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 529.

³³¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 524.

³³² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 530.

³³³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 527, 529 (it is stated here that he ate with the inquisitor), 532.

³³⁴ Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^r.

The Temple's properties in Piacenza had been damaged in a number of cases. The *villa Sancti Nicolay*, for example, had been burnt down.³³⁵ There were also frequent cases of unlawful possession and, as in Cremona, legal advice was often sought in the attempt to regain the appropriated properties.³³⁶ The task of announcing the inquisitor's decisions and giving notification of the collection of debts owed to the Templars and the retrieval of possessions taken from the Order was assigned to messengers, who travelled the length and breadth of the Piacenza district.³³⁷

According to the trial inventories, the possessions directly related to the Piacenza house were located either close to the *mansio* or the surrounding area. They were to be found, for example, in Vigolo,³³⁸ where the inventory vaguely states that inquisitor went "because of Fr. Giacomo Fontana",³³⁹ Corano (where some rent still had to be collected)³⁴⁰ and Montedonico.³⁴¹ The inquisitor's vicar took possession of the Templar properties here on the 25th of August 1308 through some of his representatives. The properties here consisted mainly of woodland, with a number of houses and cultivated fields situated *in campo malo, fossato reo, prata de Roncho, retro castrum* and *carogna*.³⁴²

Other Templar properties taken over by the inquisitor were connected to rural houses, perhaps dependent on the Piacenza house. This was the case for Cotrebbia and Castelnuovo Bocca d'Adda.³⁴³

³³⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533.

³³⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 521, doc. 332, p. 529.

³³⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 526.

³³⁸ This is Vigolo Marchese, about 25 kilometres from Piacenza, near Castell'Arquato, or Vigolo in Val di Nure. G. Della Cella, *Vocabolario corografico-geologico storico della Provincia di Piacenza* (Piacenza, 1890), p. 178.

³³⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 528.

³⁴⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533.

³⁴¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, p. 486. The Temple also had property in Rottofreno, close to San Niccolò. Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 19. A mill is mentioned several times in the inventory, without specifying its location. See, for example, *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 530, 531. Two documents from 1268, kept in the file on the transfer of Santa Maria del Tempio to the Dominicans, make reference to a mill situated near the Templar house. In all probability this documentation was acquired by the Templars with the acquisition of the mill. With the transfer of the mill to the Dominicans, it was kept in the archive of San Giovanni in Canale. Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, 26th of May 1268 and 2nd of December 1268. The mill is also mentioned in a subsequent deed from 1353, kept in the same file.

³⁴² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, p. 486.

³⁴³ See below, pp. 347–348.

One of the places mentioned in the inquisitorial report was allegedly “Olona”,³⁴⁴ a name which was deciphered by the editor Antonio Tarlazzi. The only legible letters in the original document are in fact the first “O” and the last syllable “na”. Finding the place on the basis of this scant information is no easy task. Perhaps it actually stood on the banks of the Olona river, but it could also have been next to another local river, the Ongina.³⁴⁵ Tarlazzi is also mistaken in his expansion of the abbreviation MIA, which is repeated many times in this inventory. He expanded it to *Massaria*, leading one to believe that the Temple had a *domus* in a place of this name.³⁴⁶ A much more logical expansion, though, is *Misericordia*,³⁴⁷ as in the name of the hospital of Sant’Egidio, *Domus Misericordie*, also in the 1281 deed. When using the correct expansion of the abbreviation, we learn that Guglielmo had carried out restoration work on the building on a number of occasions³⁴⁸ and that two priests officiated in its church, one of whom, Soperchio, had been paid for his services.³⁴⁹ Above all, we know that at least one female convert was working in the hospital.³⁵⁰ We have no further information, however, on the hospital of Orto, quoted in the inquisitorial report, where there was a lay affiliate, and we have no idea whether or not it belonged to the Temple.³⁵¹

As requested by Rinaldo da Concorezzo, the hearings of Piacenza Templars were held during a provincial council where it was decided that they should prove their innocence publicly.³⁵² At least seven brethren (Raimondo and Giacomo Fontana, Mauro, Giacomo, Alberto, Guglielmo da Pigazzano and Pietro Caccia)³⁵³ were involved in this *purgatio canonica*. Renzo Caravita has established that fragments of a parch-

³⁴⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 525.

³⁴⁵ Della Cella, *Vocabolario*, p. 80.

³⁴⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 526.

³⁴⁷ A. Cappelli, *Dizionario delle abbreviature latine ed italiane* (6th edition, Milan, 1993), pp. 218–219.

³⁴⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 526, 528.

³⁴⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 529.

³⁵⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 532. The deed refers twice to a *conversa*, whose affiliation is not specified, and once to a *conversa mansionis*. They could be the same person.

³⁵¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 524.

³⁵² See above, Chapter V, p. 194.

³⁵³ He is perhaps identifiable as the presbyter Pietro, *solitus morari in Sancta Maria de Templo* in 1304. Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304. For other Templar brothers from Piacenza, see below, Appendix III, nos. 1.15, 1.69, 1.82, 1.143, 1.192, 1.193, 1.227, 3.1.

ment published separately by Tarlazzi were actually part of the same document which recounted the compurgations of some of the Piacenza Templars. Unfortunately, all that remains of this document is the first sheet, which includes the oaths taken on the 5th of July 1311 by Raimondo and Giacomo Fontana and Mauro da Pigazzano before Guidotto de Arcellis, vicar-general of Ugo, bishop of Piacenza. The second sheet, now lost, contained the oaths of other Templars, of their *testes compurgantes* and the authentication of the notary.³⁵⁴

Each oath was undersigned by twelve *testes compurgantes*. The names of these “witnesses for the defence” throw further light on the positive relations established between the Piacenza Templars and local society.³⁵⁵ As one would expect, there were several members of the Fontana family, both lay and clergy, amongst the witnesses, but at the same time there were also canons, monks, Humiliati and one Hospitaller. They were from the church of Santa Brigida,³⁵⁶ the monastery of San Sisto, San Nazaro di Stradalevata (next door to Sant’Egidio), San Sepolcro, the Hospitaller house of Santa Maria del Borghetto and the Humiliati house of San Raimondo. Amongst the lay witnesses there were several members of noble families, a notary, a knight, a *miles et iudex* and a doctor. Also, one of the witnesses testifying on behalf of Giacomo Fontana was a relative of the Templar brother Pietro, Rogerio Caccia, a Piacenza canon and provost of the church of San Giovanni de Vinculo, as well as being, in all probability, a master of law and papal chaplain under Boniface VIII. Of further significance was the presence of Guidotto de Arcellis, who, in the first years of the century, had arbitrated in two disputes involving the Temple in Brescia, both of which had favourable outcomes for the Order.³⁵⁷ The Templar Moro or Mauro could be identifiable as the preceptor of Pavia and Casei Gerola, who, in 1285, represented the house of Chieri in a dispute and who was probably Master in *Roma et Terra Rome*.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴ Caravita, “La «purgazione»”, pp. 20–24.

³⁵⁵ See above, Chapter V, note 130.

³⁵⁶ The provost of Santa Brigida had intervened in favour of the Temple in a dispute in Bergamo in 1272. Ronchetti, *Memorie*, III, pp. 318–319.

³⁵⁷ *Carte*, I/2, docs. 289–290, pp. 441–446; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, pp. 305; Caravita, “«La purgazione»”, pp. 19–20; Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, nos. 70, 78, 81, 82; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, docs. 4, 5, 8, 9 pp. 372–374. See also above, Chapter V, pp. 175–176.

³⁵⁸ See above, Chapter IV, p. 141; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533, doc. 349, p. 579.

A number of brethren from the area around Piacenza are mentioned in trial depositions made outside northern Italy. These are Gerardo,³⁵⁹ Pietro,³⁶⁰ Alberto Lombardo,³⁶¹ and the priest Giacomo.³⁶²

Several of the people named above belonged to the city's ruling class. In particular, there are many members of the Pigazzano family, from Val Trebbia,³⁶³ and the Fontanas, part of a powerful group of Guelph families from Val Tidone, which also included the Arcellis.³⁶⁴ In all probability, the links with these families had a profound effect on the history of the Piacenza Templar house in the fourteenth century.³⁶⁵ Already by 1303 the power of the Guelph leader Alberto Scotti was in crisis and in 1304 he was sent away from Piacenza.³⁶⁶ It was in this very period that the Templars appealed to the pope and local bishop for protection. They subsequently gave away Santa Maria to the Dominicans, probably to increase their chances of getting powerful protection. In 1308 the Templar Giacomo Fontana was assaulted and the Cabriolo house, of which he was preceptor, was destroyed.³⁶⁷ In 1314 Raimondo Fontana, defined as *vir bonus* by the local chronicler Guarino, was killed.³⁶⁸ In this period the Fontanas were trying to resist the rise of Galeazzo Visconti.³⁶⁹ Opizzo Landi, known as Vergiuoso, captain of the Viscontis and an enemy of the Fontanas,³⁷⁰ sent two men to the house of Raimondo Fontana, who killed him as he fled to Borghetto (it is worth remembering that the Hospitaller master of Borghetto was a witness in the compurgation of the Piacenza Templars). The devastation of the Templar properties and the aggression against the Fontanas also occurred at times when the Viscontis were predominant in Piacenza.³⁷¹ Unfortunately we do not know up to what point the Templars were implicated with the Scottis and their supporters. The sum of all these

³⁵⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 163–168, 187.

³⁶⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 189–190, 192, 194, 195.

³⁶¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 250.

³⁶² *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 90–91, 203–208.

³⁶³ They were probably encouraged by the brilliant career of Bianco da Pigazzano.

³⁶⁴ Nasalli Rocca, "Per la storia sociale", pp. 195–216.

³⁶⁵ Racine, "La signoria di Alberto Scotti", pp. 336–337.

³⁶⁶ Racine, "La signoria di Alberto Scotti", p. 340ff.

³⁶⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 530.

³⁶⁸ Guarino, *Chronicon*, p. 382.

³⁶⁹ Castignoli, "La Signoria di Galeazzo", p. 10.

³⁷⁰ Castignoli, "Dalla podestaria", p. 280ff.; Racine, "Verso la signoria", p. 314; Racine, "La Signoria di Alberto Scotti", p. 333ff.

³⁷¹ Racine, "La signoria di Alberto Scotti", p. 341.

factors, though, makes it very likely that it was due to political reasons that the Order entered a period of crisis in the city at the beginning of the fourteenth century. At the same time it is worth noting that, if the Templar Giacomo da Pigazzano, tried in Piacenza, is identifiable as the head of the Milanese house from 1291 to 1304 and, before the inquiry, Moro da Pigazzano was active in Central Italy, they perhaps left their convents and went back to Piacenza to be tried there. This could imply that they viewed this as the safest choice thanks to the connection their family still had to Emilia.

After 1312³⁷² the Sant'Egidio complex was reassigned to the Knights of St. John. In the Piacenza records the transfer of Sant'Egidio and its estate to the Hospitallers was first attested in 1327.³⁷³ Fourteenth century documents show more clearly that this house had a considerable array of possessions scattered around the *contado* of Piacenza.³⁷⁴ In Piacenza too, the Templar house became the main centre for the Knights of St. John.³⁷⁵ On the contrary, Santa Maria had a slow decline. In 1444 the bell tower erected by the Templars was struck by lightning and it finally collapsed in 1553, again because of lightning.³⁷⁶ In the centuries to follow, the cloister, which had had a series of different owners, was converted to a stable and then warehouse; the arches were closed off and some of the other buildings were demolished with the extension of the Dominican complex. The church of Santa Maria was finally deconsecrated and became first a gym and then a theatre. After being partly demolished, it was converted into a private residence. Following the bombing of the Second World War the building became derelict and finally disappeared.³⁷⁷ Part of the old perimeter wall, with a single win-

³⁷² The local chronicler Giovanni Agazzari recalled both the arrest of the Templars and the end of the Order, but without making reference to the situation in Piacenza. Agazzari, *Chronica*, p. 35.

³⁷³ Zaninoni, "La *Domus*", p. 451 and, in particular, note 15. A copy of the deed regarding the handover of some rent entitlement from the Temple to the bishop of Piacenza in 1281 was issued during the transfer of the Templar possessions in 1318.

³⁷⁴ Zaninoni, "La *Domus*", pp. 447–465. A list concerning the collection of the tithes drawn up in 1352 mistakenly states that Santa Maria del Tempio was still under the preceptor of Sant'Egidio. *Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII–XIV. Aemilia. Le decime dei secoli XIII–XIV*, eds. A. Mercati, E. Nasalli Rocca, P. Sella, Studi e Testi 60 (Vatican City, 1933), no. 5786, p. 413.

³⁷⁵ For information on this house in the modern era see R. Clemente, *I beni della Commenda di S. Egidio di Piacenza*, unpublished tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Genova, academic year 1970–1971; Battioni, "Aspetti", pp. 431–432.

³⁷⁶ Valentini, "La torre", p. 139, note 4.

³⁷⁷ Serena, "I Templari", p. 51.

dow, can still be seen in the «Piazzetta del Tempio», close to San Giovanni in Canale.³⁷⁸ At different times, the commendam of Sant'Egidio alternated between the Lombardy and Venice priorates, which unfortunately led to the loss of most of its documents and the division of those remaining between different archives.³⁷⁹

CASEI GEROLA³⁸⁰

Mansio or *domus*

Church of San Pietro

All attestations of the Templar presence here have to be matched closely with those for 'Tortona' and 'Pavia'. In mediaeval times Casei was part of the diocese of Tortona, but both this house and that of Tortona, were, in different ways and for various indefinable periods of time, under the authority of the house of Pavia. Initially it is difficult to know whether the earliest deeds from the Casei district refer to an independent Templar presence or whether they are linked to the Pavia house. From at least 1200 the documents on the nearby *Calventia* house confirm the existence of a Templar convent in Casei, whose estate was to be combined with that of *Calventia*.³⁸¹

The first mention of the Temple in *Caselle* (Casei Gerola) dates back to 1177, the year in which *illi de Templo* are noted amongst the holders of adjacent lands to an estate located in *Vigorado*.³⁸² The citation of Ugo de Verzario, *qui est deditus mansionis de Templo* dates from 1181.³⁸³ Ugo

³⁷⁸ Serena, "I Templari", p. 46.

³⁷⁹ Arena, *Documenti*, V, pp. 83–90; Clemente, *I beni*, pp. 11–16.

³⁸⁰ Casei Gerola was part of the *contado* of Pavia as from 1164, thanks to the gradual increase of the political influence of Pavia in the Tortona area. From the ecclesiastical point of view, however, Casei continued to be under the bishop of Tortona. *Le carte dell'Archivio capitolare di Tortona*, I, doc. 167, p. 196; C. Goggi, *Per la storia della diocesi di Tortona. Raccolta di notizie storiche* (Tortona, 1965), p. 128; A.A. Settia, "Il distretto pavese nell'età comunale: la creazione di un territorio", in *Storia di Pavia*, III/1, pp. 121–122, 136–137. For the diocese of Pavia in this period see G. Forzatti Golia, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche", *ibid.*, pp. 173–261; X. Toscani, "Una provincia, molte diocesi. Confini amministrativi e giurisdizioni episcopali nel Pavese", *Annali di Storia Pavese*, 10 (1984), pp. 13–16; M.L. Chiappa Mauri, "La diocesi pavese nel primo ventennio del secolo XIV", *Bollettino Storico Pavese*, 72–73 (1972–1973), pp. 61–124.

³⁸¹ *Decretales Gregorij IX*, l. II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

³⁸² *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 99, p. 165.

³⁸³ *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 137, p. 226.

had already appeared in a document from 1175, although without being referred to as a Templar affiliate.³⁸⁴ He is also mentioned as one of the owners of lands bordering on a plot in the Pavia area beyond the Vernavola stream.³⁸⁵ Nothing else has reached us about Ugo, nor do we know which Templar house he was affiliated to, Casei or Pavia. The term *mansio*, used to describe the house he belonged to, recurs in both cases, although it seems more prevalent in relation to the Pavia house.

Another mention of the Templar presence in Casei Gerola is not datable. It comes from an inventory of the land owned by the hospital of Santa Maria di Betlemme in Silvano and Casei. As the inventory was drawn up by the notary Ubertus, who was active from 1167 to 1189, the deed must be from this period, although we are unable to be more precise about the actual date it was drafted.³⁸⁶ Here too, the Templars are listed amongst the owners of adjacent land. Their property was in a place called *Paschale*.³⁸⁷

Despite being poorly documented, it can be seen that the Templar presence in this area was tending to grow. The fact that, in the last years of the twelfth century, the Master of Lombardy wanted to combine the houses of *Calventia* and Casei suggests that at that time the latter was separate and independent from the nearby *mansio* of Pavia.³⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the preceptor of the house is not mentioned until the provincial chapter of 1271³⁸⁹ and in 1285, in the legal proceedings involving the Templars and the commune of Chieri, Moro de Piacano (Pigazzano), procurator of the house of Chieri, was referred to as the preceptor of Pavia and Casei Gerola.³⁹⁰ In the 1281 document, which named Bianco da Pigazzano as preceptor of several houses in the area, Casei is not included. We do not know whether at this point the house was once more independent from the nearby house of Pavia, which is named in relation to this preceptor or whether, which is more likely, they were considered as one and the same.³⁹¹

³⁸⁴ *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 87, p. 145.

³⁸⁵ *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 112, p. 186.

³⁸⁶ *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 213, p. 383.

³⁸⁷ *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 213, p. 384.

³⁸⁸ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, l. II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

³⁸⁹ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52.

³⁹⁰ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194.

³⁹¹ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

Guglielmo, preceptor of the house of Bergamo, attested to between 1276 and 1278, was probably from this place.³⁹² Doubts remain as to whether Ubertino de Cavelle,³⁹³ mentioned in the records of the trial in Tuscany, actually originated from here.³⁹⁴

There are more references to this house in the trial records. In 1310 the vicars of the archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa took over the administration of the Templar properties in the districts of Tortona and Pavia, including the Casei house, noted in the inquisitorial inventory as *Ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Caxellis diocesis Terdonensis et districtus papiensis cum omnibus iuribus et pertinencijs suis computatis possessionibus, que sunt inter Castrum novum et Caxellas predictae diocesis prope Ecclesiam Sancte Marie Campestrem et juxta Calvenciam positus, situs et jacentibus*.³⁹⁵ This is the first attestation to the dedication to St. Peter, which the church retained under the Knights of St. John as well.³⁹⁶ The inquisitor's inventory includes property extending from Castelnuovo Bocca d'Adda³⁹⁷ to *Calventia* (where in all likelihood the church of St. Mary stood)³⁹⁸ and the moveable assets found in the Casei and Tortona houses. The document ends with Filippo de Cumis pointing out the difficulties encountered in carrying out his duties.³⁹⁹

A second inventory, made by Fr. Rufino, preceptor of the Hospitaller house of Santa Croce and San Guglielmo in Tortona,⁴⁰⁰ and the *nuncius* of Filippo assigned to the task of administering the Templar possessions, gives a detailed picture of the running of the house. For Casei there is a list of rents and debts collected, both in cash and in kind.⁴⁰¹ The recurrence of certain surnames (Cloca, Vacha, etc.) shows that a number of local families had multiple links with the Templars. The rents paid in kind were immediately sold and converted into money, and the total proceeds also included money received from Giacomo,

³⁹² Bellomo, "Una mansione", docs. 5–6, pp. 201–204.

³⁹³ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 474.

³⁹⁴ See above, Chapter IV, pp. 137–138, and Chapter V, p. 200.

³⁹⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 545.

³⁹⁶ San Pietro di Rovirato *extra muros* is also mentioned in C. Goggi, *Storia dei comuni e delle parrocchie della diocesi di Tortona, comprese quelle ultimamente staccate* (Alessandria, 1966), p. 99.

³⁹⁷ P. Boselli, *Toponimi lombardi* (Milan, 1977), p. 91. See below, p. 248.

³⁹⁸ This could be identified as the Humiliati church in *Calventia*. These possessions are mentioned in *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 550.

³⁹⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 546.

⁴⁰⁰ For this hospitaller house see Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 699–670.

⁴⁰¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 549–551.

preceptor of the Templar house of Tortona. Administering this house, as we know from the remonstrances of Filippo de Cumis, was not without its difficulties. He pointed out how he was unable to make a number of lessees pay the sums they owed. Also, *dominus* Pagano de Ripalta, who had been assigned the role of *pedagerium*, was still in possession of the money owed to the house. The meaning of the word *pedagium* used here is complex: it could mean a tax or, more specifically, a payment for right of passage. Unfortunately, we do not know whether it means that the Templars controlled a zone of a certain importance from a communications point of view or whether it simply refers to the payment of a rent.⁴⁰²

The lessees, against the express wishes of Rufino, had also retained a portion of income for a certain unnamed priest.⁴⁰³ It does not seem possible that this could have been a presbyter of the Temple, given that the Templars had already been imprisoned for some time (Rufino states that his administration had begun *a die captionis fratrum*)⁴⁰⁴ and it seems more likely that he had been called on to carry on officiating at the Templar church.

Not only did the administrator have difficulty in collecting the rents,⁴⁰⁵ but also some products and items had been stolen.⁴⁰⁶ The problems encountered by the inquisitor and his appointee show clearly how many people had tried to take advantage of the power vacuum that was left after the arrest of the Templars.

At the end of the trial, San Pietro was passed on to the Knights of St. John. This transfer is attested to in records dating to the modern age.⁴⁰⁷ An Hospitaller *cabreum* from 1740 notes that the church had been demolished some time before this.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 550; *Glossario latino-italiano*, p. 422, *Glossario latino-emiliano*, p. 257. For the travel routes in the area see Settia, "Strade e pellegrini", pp. 79–89.

⁴⁰³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 550.

⁴⁰⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 551.

⁴⁰⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 551.

⁴⁰⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 578.

⁴⁰⁷ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 331–332; Battioni, "Aspetti", p. 433.

⁴⁰⁸ Capone, *Quando in Italia*, p. 100.

IVREA

Domus

Church of San Nazaro

In 1179 Calvo de Mercato and Guiberto de Civitate arbitrated a dispute between Varnerio, abbot of the monastery of Santo Stefano, and Pietro Bono and Giordano, *ministri* of the church of San Nazaro, over a piece of land with a vineyard and a wood in the district *de Zaiò et de Monte Bellerani*, which Pietro, son of Polo de Burgo had donated to the Temple.⁴⁰⁹ With this deed the Templars, who had received property in Bolengo in exchange, renounced all claims on these lands. This is the first attestation to the local Templar house, dedicated to St. Nazarus, and what is also important is that the people named in the document as *advocati* for the Temple were *domini* Robaldus et Pascalis, identifiable as Robaldo and Pasquale de Civitate, two leading figures in the town's ruling circles.⁴¹⁰ San Nazaro probably existed before the advent of the Templars. In a document from the abbey of Santo Stefano, dating back to 1162, a *Cella Heribanni* was referred to,⁴¹¹ which must be San Nazaro. The name used in this document was perhaps related to the fact that the *herebannus*, i.e. the call to arms, was published in this neighbourhood.⁴¹² The church's dedication to San Nazaro does not appear until the 1179 deed. It was located outside Porta Vercelli and was demolished in 1704 when Ivrea was besieged by the French.⁴¹³ Pietro Giustiniano Robesti, a local historian, describes its ruins as still extant in 1763.⁴¹⁴

According to the claims of several scholars, San Nazaro had already been assigned to the Temple by the local authorities in 1130. Unfortunately, we have nothing to confirm these claims, which refer to a date twelve years earlier than the first attestation to the presence of the Temple in North-west Italy.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁹ Garino, "Spigolature", p. 234; *Le carte dell'abazia di S. Stefano d'Ivrea fino al 1230 con una scelta delle più notevoli dal 1231 al 1313*, eds. F. Savio, G. Barelli, BSSS 9/2 (Pinerolo, 1902), doc. 25, pp. 310–311.

⁴¹⁰ Meyer, *Die Function*, pp. 194–198; Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 223–224.

⁴¹¹ *Le carte dell'abazia di S. Stefano d'Ivrea*, doc. 7, p. 291.

⁴¹² Garino, "Spigolature", p. 234.

⁴¹³ Garino, "Spigolature", pp. 234, 236.

⁴¹⁴ I. Vignono, *I dieci ospedali di Ivrea* (Ivrea, 1964), pp. 6, 9.

⁴¹⁵ G. Saroglia, *Memorie storiche sulla chiesa d'Ivrea* (Ivrea, 1881), p. 55; Vignono, *I dieci ospedali*, p. 9; Pola Faletti Villafalletto, *La castellata*, I, p. 245, note 1.

The Templars were attested to again amongst the holders of pieces of land adjacent to a property given as a dowry in 1198. These properties were in a place called *estimoso*.⁴¹⁶ In 1200 Pietro, presbyter of the Temple, appeared as witness in a deed on a dispute between the consuls of Ivrea and the town's bishop, Giovanni Gagnino.⁴¹⁷ The Templars were noted again in 1204 as owners of land which bordered a property with a vineyard and a wood near Piverone, rented by *dominus* Andrea, abbot of the monastery of Santo Stefano.⁴¹⁸ In 1215 there was another mention of Templar possessions close to Ivrea, again noted in a list of bordering plots.⁴¹⁹ A document from 1220 notes that there were Templar possessions near Burolo as well.⁴²⁰

In 1222 Giacomo de Mellacio, preceptor of Vercelli, was given the task of protecting and representing the Templar house, together with some other neighbouring convents.⁴²¹ In 1225 it was noted that land belonging to the church of San Nazaro was near some property sold by *dominus* Bongiovanni di Bolengo.⁴²² In 1227 there was another attestation to Templar property, again located near Piverone and again included in a list of adjacent plots.⁴²³ In 1266 there was an identical mention of some property in Bolengo.⁴²⁴

In 1268 and 1271 Manfredo, head of the Ivrea house, attended the provincial chapters in Piacenza.⁴²⁵ The first mention of the Templar Guglielmo Rubeo, *preceptor domus ecclesie sancti Nazarii de Yporegia, ordinis militie Templi Jerosolimitani*, dates from 1295.⁴²⁶

Unfortunately, there is very little information on the trial proceedings in Ivrea. At the end of January 1310 the inquisitor Ottone da Milano presented the report on his administration to the archiepisco-

⁴¹⁶ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare d'Ivrea fino al 1230 con una scelta delle più notevoli dal 1231 al 1313*, ed. E. Durando, BSSS 9/1 (Pinerolo, 1902), doc. 63, p. 75.

⁴¹⁷ Pola Faletti Villafaletto, *La castellata*, III, p. 235.

⁴¹⁸ *Le carte dell'abazia di S. Stefano d'Ivrea*, doc. 43, p. 30.

⁴¹⁹ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare d'Ivrea*, doc. 112, p. 124.

⁴²⁰ *Documenti dell'archivio comunale di Vercelli*, doc. 88, pp. 115, 117.

⁴²¹ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 151–152.

⁴²² *Le carte dell'archivio vescovile d'Ivrea fino al 1313*, ed. F. Gabotto, 2 vols., BSSS 5–6 (Pinerolo, 1900), I, doc. 112, p. 155. It should not be forgotten that Ivrea too, like the other Piedmont towns, was linked to the Holy Land through the participation of local aristocrats in the Crusades. Pola Faletti Villafaletto, *La castellata*, III, p. 125.

⁴²³ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, doc. 45, p. 273.

⁴²⁴ *Le carte dell'archivio vescovile d'Ivrea*, II, doc. 338, p. 53.

⁴²⁵ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁴²⁶ The document has not been found. Pola Faletti Villafaletto, *La castellata*, III, p. 236.

pal vicars. In it Ottone also accounted for the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the Templars in detention.⁴²⁷ After the inquisitorial administration it seemed as though these men had a certain freedom of movement. In 1311 Guglielmo di Alessandria *ordinis Templariorum* (most probably the master mentioned above) appeared as witness in the deed for the renting of a *domus turri cum rocha totius castri de Floranus* by the bishop Alberto to *dominus* Giovanni de Arondello. Also in this year, the very same Guglielmo Rubeo di Alessandria, explicitly named as *preceptor domus sancti Naçari de Yporegia*, attended two other investitures made by the bishop.⁴²⁸

The freedom granted to this Templar is matched by the support that the Order had from civil and church authorities in a number of towns in North-west Italy⁴²⁹ and the favour shown towards the Temple in this situation is confirmed by the fact that perhaps the provincial master Giacomo da Montecucco, on the run from the inquisition, was able to stay here until the trial ended. Local historian Domenico Garino noted that in 1292 a Templar by the name of Giacomino da Montecucco had signed a deed in the Ivrea area. He then appeared in a subsequent document dated the 30th of October 1311.⁴³⁰ In March 1314, a certain Fr. Giacomo da Montecucco was present for the restitution of some property belonging to the church of Ivrea by the *magister* Pasquale de Pasqualengis and his brother Nicola.⁴³¹ In 1316 a person of the same name (not Giacomino, as claimed by Garino) was presented to Alberto, the bishop of Ivrea, obtaining the investiture of the parish of San Cassiano in San Sebastiano Monferrato.⁴³² It is thus possible that, after escaping from prison, the Master of Lombardy managed to reach Ivrea, where he had some influential connections. Here he waited for the end of the trial and then carried on his ecclesiastical career.

At the end of the trial the possessions of the Templars of Ivrea were passed on to the Knights of St. John, who already had the house of San

⁴²⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 342, pp. 556–558.

⁴²⁸ Ivrea, Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, Protocollo VIII.3.310/320, fols. 6^v, 10^{r-v}.

⁴²⁹ See above, Chapter V, pp. 188–189.

⁴³⁰ Garino, “Spigolature”, p. 235.

⁴³¹ Ivrea, Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, Protocollo VIII.3.310/320/1, fol. 23^v.

⁴³² Ivrea, Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, Protocollo XII.5.AM.313/317/1, fol. 31^{r-v}; Garino, “Spigolature”, p. 236; Capone, “Jacopo da Montecucco”, pp. 32–33. See also above, Chapter V, pp. 205–206.

Giovanni in Strata, on the road to Vercelli.⁴³³ This Order, attested to in Ivrea from 1181 onwards,⁴³⁴ also had other houses in Morano and on the road from Ivrea to Turin.⁴³⁵

The handing over of the Templar house to the Knights of St. John is attested to in a number of deeds. For example, in 1320 Giovanni de Regis de Florano, preceptor of San Giovanni and San Nazario in Ivrea, rented out a meadow in Ivrea for three *soldi* a year. The year after, the Hospitaller Giacomo da Trezzo, *tenens domum sancti Nazarii*, sold some grain to Giacoletto Soleri. Finally, in 1324, Giovanni d'Ungheria, preceptor of San Giovanni and San Nazario, invested Guglielmo Rosseta with a house at *Pasquerio*, close to Ivrea, for twenty-nine years.⁴³⁶

ACQUI

Mansio or *domus*

Church of Santa Margherita

In 1186 Urban III ordered the Templars and Hospitallers *in Aquensi urbe vel suburbio* to stop exercising parochial functions, especially *in poenitentiiis publicis et exequiis defunctorum*, as this violated the rights of Acqui cathedral.⁴³⁷ This report shows that the two orders' houses must have been very active at this time, to the point of encroaching on the functions of the cathedral church.

In 1208, in a document entitled *pro decima Templariorum ecclesie maioris Aquensi debita*, a priest named Pietro, *minister* of Santa Margherita del Tempio, declared before the provost of the cathedral, Anselmo, that he had some land in the district of Acqui at a place called *Centenario*, and that he had to pay a quarter of the income from this land to the cathedral.⁴³⁸ Still in 1208 the Templar Oberto di Acqui was mentioned in a deed issued in Turin.⁴³⁹ This is the first attestation to the dedication

⁴³³ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 467.

⁴³⁴ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 468–469.

⁴³⁵ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 470–471.

⁴³⁶ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, docs. 4–6, p. 486.

⁴³⁷ *Monumenta Aquensia*, I, doc. 66 col. 84; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 239–240; IP, IV, p. 195.

⁴³⁸ *Monumenta Aquensia*, I, doc. 130, col. 147; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 240.

⁴³⁹ *Le carte della prepositura di Oulx*, doc. 234, pp. 243–244. He is also probably mentioned in another deed from 1216. *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda*, I, doc. 149, pp. 149–150.

of the local Templar church. A deed dated 1220 then tells us that the Temple had some property in Ponzone and in Morsasco.⁴⁴⁰ A subsequent document refers to the relationship between this convent and the Genoese house. In 1239, at the request of Gregory IX, the Templars of Genoa and Acqui had to pay part of the expenses of a Genoese delegation's visit to Rome.⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately we do not know what the purpose of this delegation was.

In 1244 Bonifacio di Ponzone was referred to as the person in charge of this house in the list of preceptors attending the provincial chapter in Piacenza.⁴⁴² A document from 1264 attests to a plot of land owned by the canons of Acqui, located *in hora ubi dicitur ad Portam*, and to some neighbouring Templar possessions.⁴⁴³ This is also where the Templar house was located, outside Porta San Pietro.⁴⁴⁴

Further traces of the Santa Margherita estate can be found at a place called *Poçovero*,⁴⁴⁵ in Acqui,⁴⁴⁶ in *Centenario* again, and in Ponzone.⁴⁴⁷ Unfortunately, as regards Ponzone, we do not know whether the Templar possessions were simply part of the estate of the Acqui house or whether, as suggested by Luigi Ferrero di Ponziglione, there was actually an independent house in this place.⁴⁴⁸ A deed from 1280 again attests to the presence of properties run by the Templars in *Centenario*, noting also that the church cathedral had not received the rent for these lands. The preceptor of the house, Marco, was requested to pay the sum due.⁴⁴⁹

The bulls on the inquiry into the Temple were published on the 15th of March 1310.⁴⁵⁰ There are no further attestations to the *mansio Sancte*

⁴⁴⁰ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 242.

⁴⁴¹ *Acta imperii inedita*, II, doc. 1029, p. 691.

⁴⁴² Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178. Luigi de Aquia, who took part in the provincial chapter held in Piacenza in 1268, was probably from this town. Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁴⁴³ *Le carte medievali della Chiesa d'Acqui*, doc. 122, p. 226.

⁴⁴⁴ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 245–247.

⁴⁴⁵ *Le carte medievali della Chiesa d'Acqui*, doc. 188, p. 313.

⁴⁴⁶ *Le carte medievali della Chiesa d'Acqui*, doc. 164, p. 284.

⁴⁴⁷ *Le carte medievali della Chiesa d'Acqui*, doc. 136, p. 245, doc. 173, p. 294, doc. 188–190, pp. 313–317.

⁴⁴⁸ Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", pp. 126–127. Nada Patrone doubts the existence of this house, because of the relationship between Meyranesio and Ponziglione. Nada Patrone, "I centri", p. 731.

⁴⁴⁹ *Le carte della Chiesa d'Acqui*, doc. 139, p. 250; Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia. Piemonte*, p. 46; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 241.

⁴⁵⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 348, pp. 555–556.

Margarite until 1366, by which time it was in the hands of the Knights of St. John.⁴⁵¹ After the transfer of the Templar property, the commendam was referred to as San Calocero and Santa Margherita, these being the dedications of the two houses of the Military Orders, but San Calocero had already been abandoned in the fourteenth century and subsequently fell into ruin.⁴⁵²

TESTONA-MONCALIERI

Mansio or *domus*

Church and hospital of Sant'Egidio

The hospital of Sant'Egidio and its chapel were probably granted to the Templars in 1196 by Arduino di Valperga, bishop of Turin, with the approval of the cardinal-priest of Santa Cecilia, Pietro Diani. Because of the wars in the region, the hospital was no longer able to fulfil its role and was assigned to the Temple, which was evidently looked on in a favourable light by the bishop of Turin, so that it could resume its work. As well as having to reopen the hospice and run it, the Templars were also bound to rebuild the nearby bridge on the Po and to pay an annuity for the rights to the bridge.⁴⁵³

Testona had been under the authority of the bishop since the end of the tenth century⁴⁵⁴ and was one of the places out of which the Turin episcopate was working to increase its influence throughout the whole of the surrounding area.⁴⁵⁵ For this reason, successive bishops of Turin had started to encourage the spread of ecclesiastical institutions connected with the bishopric, such as the monastery of San Solutore.⁴⁵⁶

At the end of the twelfth century a conflict began between the bishop of Turin, the lords of Piossasco and Testona. In 1193 the bishop confiscated the rights that Merlo and Ardizzone di Piossasco (probably

⁴⁵¹ *Le carte medievali della Chiesa d'Acqui*, doc. 280, p. 491. For the Hospitaller presence around Acqui see also Meyer, *Die Function*, pp. 230–232.

⁴⁵² Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 244–258; Battioni, “Aspetti”, pp. 422–423.

⁴⁵³ *Le carte dell'Archivio arcivescovile di Torino*, doc. 94, p. 96. For Pietro Diani see Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg*, p. 85 ff.; Maleczek, “Diani, Pietro”, pp. 648–650; Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 34–35, 57, 63, 72, 117–118.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ottonis II Diplomata*, MGH, *Diplomata et imperatorum Germaniae* 2 (Berlin, 1956), doc. 250, pp. 283–285.

⁴⁵⁵ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, pp. 153–158.

⁴⁵⁶ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 157.

supporters of the newly-formed commune of Testona) held in Testona and granted the commune of Turin the right to make war or peace with Testona. Bishop Arduino then declared the people of Turin exempt from all taxes or tolls for crossing the Testona district.⁴⁵⁷ The granting of Sant'Egidio to the Temple can thus be seen in the context of re-establishing episcopal control over a highly important crossing point to counteract the separatist tendencies of Testona. It was not by chance that the bishop kept possession of the Sant'Egidio bridge, which stood on the Genoa-Asti-Turin route.⁴⁵⁸ It should also be remembered that Arduino himself resided in Testona castle between 1201 and 1206.⁴⁵⁹

In 1204 the communes of Turin, Chieri and Testona made a treaty in which Testona had to swear an oath of allegiance to the bishop.⁴⁶⁰ This document provides us with new evidence of the Templar presence in Testona. In the agreement it is stated that, at that time, the Templars had not yet fulfilled their obligations and were therefore ordered once more to repair the bridge over the Po. Unfortunately, we are not given the reasons for the delay, but it may be that tension between local political factions had hindered the work.

It has been presumed that the presence of the Templars in the area encouraged the influx of new inhabitants. A new village, Moncalieri, was founded there, consisting mainly of craftsmen and merchants, attracted above all by the good location.⁴⁶¹ In this case the Templar house, situated in a zone of growing importance with good access to the road network, probably acted as a further pole of attraction.

The surrounding communes too tended to take advantage of the this area's potential. The bridge on the Po was of primary importance in the conflict between Chieri and Testona, so much so that the inhabitants of Testona were prepared to defend it with arms in 1227 and 1230.⁴⁶² By 1228 Testona and Chieri were at war and in 1229 the Testona forces attacked the *villanova* of Chieri at Pecetto.⁴⁶³ For a long time it was thought that the devastation suffered by Testona in the bat-

⁴⁵⁷ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Torino*, doc. 101, pp. 100–102.

⁴⁵⁸ T. Rossi, F. Gabotto, *Storia di Torino*, BSSS 82 (Turin, 1914), p. 173 ff.; Cognasso, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 107–120; Casiraghi, "Fondazioni templari", pp. 133–134.

⁴⁵⁹ Casiraghi, "I Cavalieri del Tempio", p. 238.

⁴⁶⁰ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 39, pp. XXIX–XXXII.

⁴⁶¹ Daviso, "I catasti", p. 47; *Documenti inediti*, doc. 94, pp. 96–99; Casiraghi, "Fondazioni templari", p. 134; Meyer, *Die Function*, pp. 278–281; La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 187.

⁴⁶² *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 53, pp. XLV–XLVI.

⁴⁶³ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 163; Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 92 ff.; Montanari Pesando, "Un caso paradigmatico", pp. 219–229.

tles with Chieri had been the reason for the commune moving to Moncalieri. In truth, though, the decision to move away from Testona is a clear sign of the desire of this political body to assert its independence and to control a nodal point in its territory more effectively.⁴⁶⁴

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Templar house of Testona was not an independent unit but was administered by Rolando Bergognino, together with the other houses on the hills of Turin.⁴⁶⁵ The first references to an independent preceptor date from 1227 and 1233, and his installation in office may well have also been related to the difficulty of keeping together houses that were situated in two quarrelling communes. After the transfer of the commune of Testona, the Sant'Egidio house gradually stopped being referred to as *mansio pontis Testone* and started to be called *domus Templi Montiscalerii* or *mansio S. Egidii de montecalerio*.⁴⁶⁶ In 1227 Giovanni di Alessandria attended the provincial chapter in Cabriolo in his capacity as preceptor *domus Templi pontis Testone*,⁴⁶⁷ and in 1244 as head of the house of Moncalieri.⁴⁶⁸

The fact that relations continued between the new commune and the Temple was attested to in a deed from December 1233, in which Ottobello Pascale, *podestà* of Moncalieri, acknowledged that the commune had a debt to Giovanni de Casellis, preceptor of the Templar *mansio* of Moncalieri, over a piece of land that the house had sold to the commune for the digging of a *bealera* (i.e. an irrigation ditch).⁴⁶⁹ This land was linked to the use of the local waterways and this was why the commune was interested in it.

This attestation makes it doubtful that Giovanni di Alessandria actually was preceptor of the house of Moncalieri from 1227 to 1244. Unfortunately, it cannot be ascertained whether Giovanni de Casselis and Giovanni da Alessandria were the same person with different attributions of origin or whether Giovanni de Casselis temporarily substituted for the other preceptor. It is also worth noting that the Giovanni di Alessandria attested to in 1227 and the one in 1244 could be two dif-

⁴⁶⁴ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, pp. 188–201.

⁴⁶⁵ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 45–46, pp. 80–85.

⁴⁶⁶ *Le carte dell'archivio del Duomo di Torino (904–1300, con appendice di carte scelte. 1301–1433)*, eds. G. Borghezio, C. Fasola, BSSS 106 (Torino, 1931), doc. 52, p. 93; *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 88.

⁴⁶⁷ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

⁴⁶⁸ Campi, *Dell'Istoria Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

⁴⁶⁹ *Inventario e regesto*, no. 57, p. 351; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 119; “Appendice documentaria”, doc. 46, pp. 263–264. For the meaning of the word *bealera* see Cange, *Glossarium*, I, p. 612.

ferent people. What is certain, though, is that Giovanni da Alessandria was killed by Giovanetto and Ubertino Mieto shortly after the last reference was made to him in Testona, for reasons unknown to us. In 1244 the Moncalieri judge Opizone di Lomello and the *credenza* of Moncalieri then borrowed the money needed to hunt down the two murderers.⁴⁷⁰ The next preceptor was Germano, who was present at the ratification of the agreements with Chieri in 1245.⁴⁷¹

In July 1253 the Templar preceptor Pellegrino de Casellis was present at the drafting of the deed by which Presbitero de Fonte resigned as *podestà* of Moncalieri.⁴⁷²

In June 1254 Baldovino, bishop of Brugnato and papal delegate, excommunicated the *podestà* and elders of Moncalieri for not desisting from harassing the preceptor and brethren of the Temple in *Lombardia a Papiensi civitate superius*.⁴⁷³ As well as being linked to political factors related to the quarrel between the Savoys and the commune of Asti,⁴⁷⁴ these tensions were probably caused by a dispute over property. The house had parts of its estate in Calpice, Doasio and Cavoretto, mentioned briefly in documents dated to between 1234 and 1283.⁴⁷⁵ The Templars also owned some arable land in the Porta Torinese quarter. They had similar plots of land in the Sant'Egidio quarter, adjacent to the Order's house, together with some buildings. The *mansio* was also entitled to one sixteenth of the income from the mills on the Po,⁴⁷⁶ this being further evidence of the Temple's entitlements regarding the use of the waterways.

Two years later the quarrel seemed to be definitely settled and Giovanni Banasta and Bosso, *conversi domus manssionis de Templo*, were

⁴⁷⁰ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune, Serie Generale, no. 160; L. Patria, "Gli spazi del notaio: la documentazione moncalierese duecentesca della "Serie Generale". Dati e problemi", in *Viaggio nella memoria del territorio. Percorso nell'Archivio Storico di Moncalieri* (Moncalieri, 2002), p. 21. The document was pointed out to me by Luca Patria.

⁴⁷¹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87.

⁴⁷² Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune, Serie Generale, no. 229. Luca Patria kindly drew my attention to this document.

⁴⁷³ *Documenti sulle relazioni commerciali fra Asti e Genova*, doc. 456, pp. 178–179; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 497, note 421.

⁴⁷⁴ See above, Chapters I and IV, pp. 31, 164, 170.

⁴⁷⁵ *Le carte dell'Archivio del Duomo di Torino*, doc. 52, p. 94; *Cartario della chiesa di S. Maria di Testona (1194–1300)*, ed. V. Ansaldo, in *Cartari minori II*, BSSS 43 (Pinerolo, 1911), doc. 19, p. 126, doc. 65, p. 175; *Carte superstiti del monastero di S. Pietro di Torino (989–1300)*, ed. F. Gabotto, BSSS 69/3 (Pinerolo, 1914), doc. 69, p. 189; *Documenti inediti*, doc. 320, pp. 339–340.

⁴⁷⁶ Daviso, "I catasti", pp. 52, 55.

witnesses at the drafting of the deed that notified Giacomo di Selberico, from Asti, that he had been chosen as *podestà* of Moncalieri. This role had been previously declined by others because it was deemed either too poorly paid or dangerous, as demonstrated in 1252, moreover, when the *berrovieri* had taken the local *podestà* prisoner. Because of these problems, Presbitero de Fonte had resigned from this office.⁴⁷⁷

In 1267 Pagano appeared as *canavarius* of the house,⁴⁷⁸ and in 1268 the preceptor Oberto attended the provincial chapter held in Piacenza.⁴⁷⁹ The presence of the presbyter Matteo was attested to in Moncalieri in 1281 and 1286.⁴⁸⁰ More Templar brethren appeared as witnesses in a deed from 1287 regarding the abbey of San Solutore. These were the preceptor Guglielmo de Casali, Andrea di Testona, priest of Sant'Egidio, and Rosso, *frater* of the *domus*.⁴⁸¹

Only one possible mention of the house of Moncalieri can be found in the trial records. Bernardo da Parma, in his deposition, declared that he had been admitted into the Order in *Castrum Montis Caferii*, which was perhaps Moncalieri, in about 1284. Here he had apparently desecrated the cross together with Niccolò Baracchini, a brother from the same house (perhaps the former preceptor of Pavia),⁴⁸² and Michelone da Pavia.⁴⁸³

After the dissolution of the Temple the Moncalieri house came into the hands of the Knights of St. John. In 1323 Rolando di Morano, representative of Giacomo Canelli, prior of Lombardy, rented some properties in Gorra. The deed was issued in the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem, which formerly belonged to the Temple.⁴⁸⁴ All that remains now of the commendam of Sant'Egidio is the church, extensively altered over the course of the centuries.

⁴⁷⁷ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune, Serie Generale, no. 244. See also *ibid.*, Serie Generale, nos. 222, 223, 227, 228, 229 (documents kindly pointed out to me by Luca Patria). The *berrovieri* were armed men who accompanied the *podestà*. A.A. Settia, "I «berrovieri»: una cavalleria leggera", in A.A. Settia, *Comuni*, pp. 71–89.

⁴⁷⁸ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 148, p. 196.

⁴⁷⁹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁴⁸⁰ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 160, p. 212; *Cartario della chiesa di S. Maria di Testona*, docs. 48–49, p. 155.

⁴⁸¹ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 169, p. 227.

⁴⁸² Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁴⁸³ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 471.

⁴⁸⁴ *Inventario e regesto*, nos. 469–470, p. 368.

ALBA

Domus

Church of Santa Maria del Tempio

A deed from 1200 in the *Rigestum Comunis Albe* that mentions a road leading to the Temple is the earliest reference to the existence of a local house of the Order. The same source mentions some properties located *ad rivum S. Georgij* that bordered on the Templars' property.⁴⁸⁵ We know that the Order had started recruiting in this area some time earlier because in 1190 Ottone, who originated from the nearby Mercenasco, was the *missus* of Alberico, the Master of Italy.⁴⁸⁶

In 1217 the cathedral chapter of Alba appealed to pope Honorius III to take measures against Martino, the priest of San Nicola, Manfredi, the priest of the Hospitaller house of San Marco, and Viviano, the priest of Santa Maria del Tempio. They had performed acts forbidden to them, such as admitting *sponsas vel paiolatas levantes de partu vel surgentes* to the mass and blessing pilgrims' purses. Eventually the three accused refused to defend themselves.⁴⁸⁷

In 1254 there was another mention of Templar property bordering on some land near Porta San Blasio, cited in a will. A deed of sale for a house located in Alba near a *mansus Templariorum* is dated to the following year.⁴⁸⁸ These latter attestations were only noted by the local scholar Giuseppe Vernazza and the Ponzigliones, but there are really no grounds for doubting the existence of this house, as some historians do,⁴⁸⁹ as it is also mentioned in the *Rigestum Comunis Albe* and its preceptor, Ivano, perhaps a member of the Canelli family, attended the provincial chapters of 1268 and 1271.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁵ *Rigestum Comunis Albe*, ed. E. Milano, 2 vols., BSSS 20–21 (Pinerolo, 1903), I, docs. 29–30, pp. 67–72.

⁴⁸⁶ It has been suggested that the surname of a certain Guglielmus Templa, witness to a deed in 1200, is an abbreviation of *Templarius* but it seems very unlikely as other people with this cognomen are mentioned in thirteenth century charters without any connection to the Temple. *Rigestum Comunis Albe*, I, doc. 72, pp. 148–150; G. Boffa, "La *Domus Templi* di Alba", in *Atti del XIII Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1994), p. 10; *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 430, p. 345.

⁴⁸⁷ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 139; Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 54; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 373–374.

⁴⁸⁸ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 374.

⁴⁸⁹ Avonto and Nada Patrone doubt the existence of the Templar house. Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 77–78; Nada Patrone, "I centri", p. 635, note 2.

⁴⁹⁰ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

The bulls for the inquiry into the Temple were published in Alba in February 1310.⁴⁹¹ A parchment about the house of Murello drawn up a month later states that Riccardo de Albaruxia was preceptor of the Murello, Vercelli and Casale Monferrato houses in 1286. *Albaruxia* may correspond to the present-day Albaretto della Torre, near Alba.⁴⁹² Fr. Guglielmo, who was tried in the papal state, may have come from the neighbouring district of Verduno.⁴⁹³ Also from this area were Artusio and Giacomo di Pocapaglia, master of Lombardy and papal *cubicularius* respectively.⁴⁹⁴

The exact location of the Templar house of Alba has yet to be traced. Some argue that it was located within the built-up area, near the Palazzo Comunale.⁴⁹⁵ This position seems unlikely, given that Templar *domus* tended to be located outside towns. Identifying it as the church of Santa Maria di Porta is erroneous too, as this place of worship belonged to the Order of Bethlehem.⁴⁹⁶ Equally unconvincing is the suggested location of the Templar house at the chapel of Santa Croce, near Diano d'Alba.⁴⁹⁷ None of the documents found so far provide us with further information on the location of the Templar house and confirm its transfer to the Hospital, which was attested as being in the city since 1164.⁴⁹⁸

CALVENTIA

Domus

The presence of a house of the Order here was initially claimed by the Ponzigliones, who first of all noted the existence of a papal document issued by Innocent III in 1200 with the intention of settling a dispute between the Temple and the bishop of Tortona over the ownership of

⁴⁹¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 344, pp. 562–563.

⁴⁹² Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 7; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 48; Boffa, "La *Domus*", p. 11.

⁴⁹³ *The Trial in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188–189, 201.

⁴⁹⁴ See above, Chapters I and III, pp. 39–40, 101.

⁴⁹⁵ Boffa, "La *Domus*", p. 7.

⁴⁹⁶ Boffa, "La *Domus*", pp. 7, 9.

⁴⁹⁷ Boffa, "La *Domus*", p. 12, fig. 4.

⁴⁹⁸ *Appendice documentaria al Rigestum Communis Albe*, ed. F. Gabotto, BSSS 22 (Pinerolo, 1912), doc. 3, p. 3. For the local Hospitaller house see Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 374–375. There is a further attestation to the presence of the Knights of St. John in Alba,

a house in *Calventia*.⁴⁹⁹ This information was subsequently overlooked by scholars who, whilst acknowledging the possibility of a Templar presence in the area, questioned the importance of the testimony noted by Ponziglione, to the point of suspecting it to be a forgery.⁵⁰⁰ In actual fact, not only is the letter listed in the records of a reliable scholar such as Fedele Savio and in the inventories of papal letters but, above all, it is also noted in the *rubricelle* of Innocent III.⁵⁰¹ Moreover, the document was so significant as to be included in the *Liber Extra*.⁵⁰²

In the deed the pope makes reference to the dispute between the church of Tortona and *B. magistrum et fratres militiae templi in Lombardia, super domo Calventiae*, a house formerly belonging to the Humiliati that had been passed on to the Templars. The Humiliati had asked permission from the deceased bishop of Tortona, Ugo (1183–1193), to found a church with a hospital *in loco Calventiae*. The bishop granted them some land⁵⁰³ on the condition that they built an oratory and hospital *ad honorem Dei et B. Virginis*.⁵⁰⁴ Some time later the Templar Master of Lombardy (most probably Barozio),⁵⁰⁵ who wanted this house so that he could combine it with the convent in Casei Gerola, convinced the Humiliati to hand over all their property here to him. The transfer could only be made with the consent of the episcopal authority. But the Templar Master took possession of the house, putting ninety sheep on the land, without asking the bishop of Tortona's permission. The bishop then refused to give his consent and evicted the Templars by force. The arbitrators appointed by Innocent were the abbots Peter of Lucedio, who explained the problem to the pope *viva voce*, and Boiamundo of Chiaravalle della Colomba.⁵⁰⁶ Two cardinals auditor, Gio-

datable to 1232, the year in which some people were accused of harassing them. *Documenti intorno alle relazioni tra Alba e Genova (950–1325)*, ed. A. Ferretto, BSSS 23 (Pinerolo, 1906), doc. 94, p. 113.

⁴⁹⁹ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 137; Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 52.

⁵⁰⁰ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 69; Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 100.

⁵⁰¹ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Piemonte*, p. 211; Potthast, no. 1195; *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, I, p. 54, no. 253.

⁵⁰² *Decretales Gregorii IX*, l. II, tit. XIII, c. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12). The quarrel is also mentioned in Alberzoni, *Città*, pp. 119–120 and Andrews, *The Early Humiliati*, pp. 53–54, 73, 86, 142.

⁵⁰³ Frances Andrews wrongly interprets the documents when she states that "the site had previously been occupied by the Templars". The papal letter, in fact, generally talks of some *milites*. Andrews, *The Early Humiliati*, p. 53.

⁵⁰⁴ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Piemonte*, p. 397.

⁵⁰⁵ See above Chapter III, pp. ■.

⁵⁰⁶ For Peter and Boiamundo see above, Chapter IV, note 176.

vanni, cardinal priest of Santo Stefano in Celiomonte, and Ugolino, cardinal deacon of Sant'Eustachio (later pope Gregory IX), discussed the matter with the proctors of the parties involved, and the final sentence supported the bishop's action, but did not settle the issue of the house's *proprietas*. Fifteen years later, the pope complained about the fact that *tam iura mobilia quam immobilia* of the house of *Calventia* had not been returned to the Templars.⁵⁰⁷ So, at the end of the dispute, the Order's claim on the convent were acknowledged. Barozio's plan to combine it with the house of Casei was eventually implemented, even though we do not know when the restitution decreed by Innocent III actually took place. The inquisitorial inventories of the Casei Gerola estate mention the *Ecclesia Sancte Marie Campestris*, and the *Calventia* district. Unfortunately, though, we are not completely certain that this reference to a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary actually refers to the former Humiliati house.⁵⁰⁸

Identifying the location of *Calventia* is quite difficult, despite the fact that there was no lack of places with similar names in the Voghera and Tortona areas in mediaeval times. Calvenzano and the via Calvenzanasca take their names from a local stream called Calvenza.⁵⁰⁹ A clue about the position of the *Calventia* Templar house can be found in a *cabreum* of the Order of Malta. In the record of a prioral visit in 1787 mention was made of an "oratorio (...) eretto sotto l'invocazione di S. Maria della Sanità ossia della Cravenza",⁵¹⁰ situated in the district of Castelnuovo Scriveria.⁵¹¹ Next to it there was a farmhouse, which was called "La Cravenza".⁵¹² The dedication given here concurs not only with the one noted in the records of the dispute with the bishop of Tortona but also with the one in the trial inventory. As the description in the *cabreum* also coincides with the topographical references given in the

⁵⁰⁷ *Vetera monumenta Slavorum*, I, p. 61, no. 190.

⁵⁰⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 545.

⁵⁰⁹ *Le carte dell'archivio comunale di Voghera fino al 1300*, ed. A. Tallone, BSSS 49 (Pinerolo, 1918), doc. 5, p. 7, doc. 116, pp. 243, 256. These attestations are dated 1176 and 1273. See also D. Olivieri, *Dizionario di toponomastica lombarda* (2nd edition, Milan, 1961), p. 129.

⁵¹⁰ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 336.

⁵¹¹ The Templar presence in this area was noted in Goggi, *Storia dei comuni*, pp. 126–127 but in a confused way, without making reference to this house. In 1254 the provincial master Guglielmo da Bubbio appointed Vivaldo de Vecia as his procurator. He in turn gave Guglielmo Ridolfino de Palma the task of collecting the revenue from the Templar properties in the diocese of Tortona and in Valle Scriveria. *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109.

⁵¹² Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 340.

inventory drawn up during the trial, in all probability, this was the place that belonged to the Templars. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the documentation prevent us from knowing whether the Humiliati had really run the *Calventia* house as a hospital and the Templars had carried on their work.

PAVIA

Mansio or *domus*

Church of San Guglielmo
Hospital of Sant'Eustachio
Church of San Damiano in Linarolo

The attestations to the Temple in Pavia, dating back to the twelfth century, are not always clear as to which of the various houses in the area is being referred to. As it is far from easy to ascertain whether the references are to the houses in Pavia or Casei Gerola, it has been decided to examine the documentary material on a strictly topographical basis. There remains a doubt, in fact, as to whether the date of the first attestation to the house of Pavia is actually 1181,⁵¹³ as the document in question simply names an affiliate of the Temple, Ugo de Verzario, without any further information about the house he was affiliated to. This attestation is the earliest sign of a Templar presence in the Pavia area, but we do not know whether Ugo joined the Temple in Pavia or Casei. The greater importance of the house of Pavia and its location at a junction between a number of roads makes it likely that the Temple established itself first in Pavia and then in Casei. It is by no means certain, however, that the 1181 mention refers to a Pavia affiliate.

The first definite reference to the Templars in Pavia comes twenty or so years later in the investiture of the hospital of Sant'Eustachio de Verzario by bishop Bernardo to the provincial master Barozio in 1201.⁵¹⁴ The concession was renewed in 1205,⁵¹⁵ again to Barozio, and the receipts for the annuity payable to the bishop for the arrangement for the years 1294, 1295 and 1305 have survived.⁵¹⁶ We do not know

⁵¹³ *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 137, p. 226.

⁵¹⁴ Robolini, *Notizie*, IV, p. 68. For Bernardo see F. Liotta, "Bernardo da Pavia", DBI 9 (Rome, 1967), pp. 279–284.

⁵¹⁵ Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II, p. 449.

⁵¹⁶ Pavia, Archivio Vescovile, Archivio Mensa vescovile, no. 281, 26th of January 1294, no. 282, 6th of February 1295, no. 293, 14th of December 1305.

exactly when this hospital was founded. It was bequeathed a legacy in 1192, shortly before being assigned to the Templars.⁵¹⁷ The hospital was outside the eastern city walls, on the road to Cremona, in the Porta di Santa Giustina district and thus near to the church of San Guglielmo, which, according to the 1201 deed, already belonged to the Templars. The proximity to the Templar church was probably another reason for Bernardo assigning it to the Military Order. Both the house and the hospital stood on a road much used by pilgrims.⁵¹⁸

When the local Templar house had already been taken over by the Hospitallers, a fourteenth century writer, Opicino or Picino de Canistris, noted that *in suburbiis vero civitatis sunt iste ecclesie: (...) Ecclesia sancti Guillelmi monachi et confessoris, Domus Hospitalarium sancti Iohannis cum parochia*.⁵¹⁹ Opicino also recalled the Hospitaller house of San Giovanni delle Vigne between the churches of the immediate suburb, affirming that this too was originally Templar.⁵²⁰ It is from this that the mistaken idea arises that this place of worship, which had always belonged to the Hospital, started off as part of the Templar house.⁵²¹ The misunderstanding was further reinforced by the fact that in Pavia too, the houses of the two Military Orders were next door to each other, in a zone outside the town next to other hospitals.⁵²²

The only deed found that refers—albeit marginally—to the estate of the Templar house is a document from the monastery of San Pietro in Ciel d’Oro dated 1244. In this Guglielmo, provost of the canons regular of Mortara and abbot of San Pietro, invested Pietrobono Foreto with some vineyards situated *in Campaneam in valle Fotoria, in clauso quod nuncupatur de Fotetis*. This estate also included the plots that the monastery had

⁵¹⁷ *Regesto degli atti dei secoli X–XIII della Biblioteca Civica «Bonetta»*, eds. F. Milani, X. Toscani (Pavia, 1974), no. 59, p. 55; *Documenti degli archivi di Pavia relativi alla storia di Voghera (929–1300)*, ed. L.C. Bollea, BSSS 46 (Pinerolo, 1909), doc. 65, p. 202.

⁵¹⁸ D. Vicini, “Lineamenti urbanistici dal XII secolo all’età sforzesca”, in *Storia di Pavia*, III/3, *L’arte dall’XI al XVI secolo*, p. 22. In the table at the end of the article, however, the *mansio* of San Guglielmo is not mentioned.

⁵¹⁹ *Picino de Canistris. L’anonimo e la sua descrizione di Pavia*, ed. F. Gianani (Pavia, 1976), p. 195. San Guglielmo is noted also *ibid.*, p. 295 and the hospital of Sant’Eustachio on p. 208.

⁵²⁰ *Picino de Canistris*, p. 200.

⁵²¹ The same mistake is made by Renata Crotti Pasi, who quotes a deed of 1227 issued in the presence of Ugo Arlengo, the prior in Lombardy of the houses of the Hospital, as proof of the presence of the Temple in this area. Crotti Pasi, “Il sistema”, p. 372. Also, Opicino notes a local female community subordinate to the Hospitaller Order. *Picino de Canistris*, pp. 205–206, note 190.

⁵²² Crotti Pasi, “Il sistema”, pp. 372–373; Crotti, “Gli «hospitalia»”, pp. 91–105.

received from Pietrobono's forefathers and amongst these there was a piece of land that Siro, Pietrobono's father, had donated to the *mansio* of San Guglielmo.⁵²³

The surviving references that we have to the Pavia Templar masters are dated 1228, 1252, 1268 and 1271. The first attestation concerns Bonifacio, *preceptor domus sancti Guillelmi papiensis*, who appeared as witness to a deed issued in Paciliano.⁵²⁴ The next one is the attestation to Enrico di Ponzone, preceptor of the houses of Pavia *et a Papia superius*, who was invested with the oratory and hospital of San Giacomo in Tortona.⁵²⁵ In the years to follow, the master of the Pavia house, Niccolò Barachino, was present at the Piacenza chapters of 1268 and 1271.⁵²⁶ The second chapter was also attended by the preceptor of the house of Casei, which therefore must have been administered independently in this period. In 1285, on the other hand, it was run by Moro together with the *mansio* of Pavia.⁵²⁷ In 1289 pope Nicholas IV insisted on the Templars of Pavia paying the tithe for the *negocium Regni Sicilie*.⁵²⁸

There are a number of testimonies referring to the trial in Pavia. In 1309 the vicars of the archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa received the Templar possessions in the districts of Pavia and *Verzarius*. These properties had previously been administered by the inquisitor Filippo de Cumis. On the 11th of December 1309 Rogerio da Milano, rector of Santa Maria della Scaletta in Pavia and a relative of Concorezzo, replaced the archiepiscopal vicar Giovanni da Castiglione.⁵²⁹ Shortly after his appointment he published the trial bulls in Pavia⁵³⁰ and it could well be that a clergyman from Pavia was chosen for this task in order to overcome the resistance that the inquisitorial administration was encountering in this area. Not only had the inquisitor to deal with the plunder and destruction of the Templar estates, but he was also faced with requests from the communes of Pavia and Tortona to free the imprisoned brethren. These requests were combined with other

⁵²³ Pavia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Ospedale S. Matteo, cartella 21, no. 2.

⁵²⁴ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Casale Monferrato fino al 1313*, eds. F. Gabotto, U. Fisso, BSSS 40-41 (Pinerolo, 1907-1908), doc. 136, p. 244.

⁵²⁵ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, p. 209.

⁵²⁶ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52. For this Templar preceptor see also above, p. 289.

⁵²⁷ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 430, p. 342.

⁵²⁸ *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, I, doc. 1146, p. 240.

⁵²⁹ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, p. 134.

⁵³⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 351, pp. 586-587.

pressures from the Pavia civil and church authorities in favour of the Templars.⁵³¹ Perhaps it was in order to decide on a form of united action to take against the strong resistance encountered in this area that the inquisitors met in Pavia after receiving orders from the pope.⁵³²

The inventories of Filippo de Cumis give a fairly accurate picture of the organisation of the Templar house in Pavia and its sources of income. The house gravitated around two poles with distinct locations and aims. As well as San Guglielmo, the *mansio* near the town, the inventory also included a place called San Damiano, described as a focal point for the Templar rural properties.⁵³³ The church situated here is attested to only in the trial records. There are frequent references to the transport of farm produce from here to San Guglielmo, where it was probably collected before being sold.⁵³⁴ When the local historian Giuseppe Robolini mentions a Templar church of San Donnino,⁵³⁵ he is probably referring to the rural house of San Damiano by an altered name. The existence of a church called San Donnino is not corroborated by the records, whereas the one in San Damiano later became the centre for the Hospitaller commendam in Pavia. San Damiano is not mentioned in the inquisitorial inventory either as a *domus* or as a *mansio*. There is not any mention of the hospital of Sant'Eustachio in this document, and we have no further information on what happened to this institution. The church of San Guglielmo, however, probably continued to be officiated by a chaplain, who was remunerated for the service he provided, and we also know from this inventory that it was a parish church.⁵³⁶

The produce of the Pavia house consisted of cereals, wine, hay and straw. There was also pig farming, but the most consistent income for the *mansio* was definitely the rent from the houses owned by the Order (about a hundred were listed in the inventory).⁵³⁷ As well as owning land around San Guglielmo and San Damiano, the Templars also had property in *Monticello* and *Castagneto*. The inquisitorial inventories

⁵³¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 582.

⁵³² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 527.

⁵³³ After 1305 there are no further mentions of the Hospital of Sant'Eustachio in the sources.

⁵³⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 576–577, 579–584.

⁵³⁵ Robolini, *Notizie*, III, p. 366.

⁵³⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 349, p. 571. Probably it was the presbyter Uberto, named in the inventory, who ensured that there was still the officiation of the Templar church. *Ibid.*, doc. 350, p. 585.

⁵³⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 569–584.

also mention a place called Sala, probably close to Casteggio, where Filippo de Cumis went to collect some revenue of the Order.⁵³⁸ The list of moveable assets sequestered from the house of Pavia includes simple items for worship or everyday use.⁵³⁹ Also, it was in Pavia that a deed was drawn up for renting Templar property in the nearby *Verzarius*.⁵⁴⁰

That the Temple recruited in the area is also attested to by the mention of some Templars from Pavia in the trial depositions. These were Valsazio, Giovanni, Michelone and the presbyter Francesco.⁵⁴¹

As well as being noted in the writings of Opicino de Canistris, the handing over of the Pavia house to the Hospital is also attested to in the *Rationes Decimarum*. San Giovanni and the *mansio* of San Guglielmo were mentioned in the accounts of the tithes paid between 1321 and 1324.⁵⁴² They were merged only in the sixteenth century⁵⁴³ and, after being damaged during the siege of Pavia in 1525, the church of San Guglielmo was not repaired. In the records of a prioral visit in 1576 it was pointed out that it had not been rebuilt because “si temeva fosse d’impedimento alle fortificazioni della città”.⁵⁴⁴ Its title was thus attributed to the church of San Damiano in Linarolo, which was placed in commendam in 1604.⁵⁴⁵ This information is of particular interest because it finally gives the location the rural house of San Damiano, about ten kilometres from Pavia on the road to Casalpusterlengo.⁵⁴⁶

⁵³⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 583; Olivieri, *Dizionario di toponomastica lombarda*, p. 482.

⁵³⁹ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 43, p. 287.

⁵⁴⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 353, pp. 589–591.

⁵⁴¹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 479, 491.

⁵⁴² *Rationes Decimarum. Lombardia et Pedemontium*, no. 508, p. 76. San Guglielmo and San Giovanni delle Vigne are also mentioned on p. 84, note 1 and p. 76.

⁵⁴³ For notes on modern-age material regarding this house see Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 621–632; Arena, *Documenti*, I, pp. 70–81 (neither of the two authors mention the Templar origins of San Guglielmo and San Damiano); M. Bruché, “Documenti per la storia dei Gerosolimitani a Pavia”, *Bollettino Storico Pavese*, 3 (1940), pp. 5–33.

⁵⁴⁴ Bruché, “Documenti”, p. 15.

⁵⁴⁵ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 622.

⁵⁴⁶ A. Amati, *Dizionario corografico dell’Italia*, 8 vols. (Milan, 1875–1876), IV, p. 61; Battioni, “Aspetti”, pp. 430–431.

ASTI

Domus or mansio

Church of Santa Maria del Tempio

The first attestation to the Templar house of Asti refers to a provincial chapter, in which the sale of Gorra was approved, being held there in October 1203.⁵⁴⁷ The fact that this meeting took place in the convent of Asti probably means that it had been established for some time and that it had a particularly important role in Piedmont.⁵⁴⁸ Also of importance is the concord that seemed to exist between the conduct of the Templar Order in North-west Italy and the political orientations of the commune of Asti. The sale of Gorra in itself implied a certain patronage by Asti, which was, at the time of the transaction, Chieri's main point of reference and subsequently its ally against Turin and Testona.⁵⁴⁹ One of the people behind this cooperation was Rolando Bergognino, a key figure in the Asti ruling class and later head of the Templar houses on the hills of Turin.⁵⁵⁰ He had occupied a number of important positions in the commune of Asti and it could well be that his work as preceptor of the Temple was affected by these events. This does not imply agreement with those who sustain that, in the sale of Gorra, he deliberately gave priority to the interests of the commune of Chieri, which at this time was siding with Asti, over those of the Temple.⁵⁵¹ It is possible, though, that thanks to the presence of Bergognino, the Temple was willing to support the policies implemented by Chieri, an ally of Asti, whilst at the same time being fully aware of how the foundation of Villastellone could have benefited the Order.

Another mention of the Templars in the Asti records dates from 1206, when Guglielmo de Placio, before setting off for Santiago di Compostela, left his arms to the Templar house of Asti.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁷ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, p. 85; Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 5, pp. 156–157.

⁵⁴⁸ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 74.

⁵⁴⁹ R. Bordone, "Il movimento comunale", in *Storia di Torino*, 9 vols. (Turin, 1997–1999), I, *Dalla preistoria al comune medievale*, pp. 653–656; Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 14–17, 24–25, 38.

⁵⁵⁰ See above, Chapter IV, pp. 159–160.

⁵⁵¹ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 43.

⁵⁵² *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Asti (830, 948, 1111–1237)*, eds. F. Gabotto, N. Gabiani, BSSS 37 (Pinerolo, 1907), doc. 214, pp. 185–187; R. Bordone, "Progetti nobiliari del ceto dirigente del comune di Asti al tramonto", in R. Bordone, G. Sergi, eds., *Progetti e dinamiche nella società comunale italiana* (Naples, 1995), p. 293.

After this, unfortunately, the sources tell us no more for over twenty years. The affinity between the Temple and Asti is further proven, however, by the archpriest of Asti's favourable attitude towards the Order in the quarrel with the bishop of Albenga in 1224.⁵⁵³

In September 1226 the request, addressed to Boniface II, to swear an oath of allegiance to the commune of Asti with regard to the feud of Calliano was issued *in posse Crixani de subtus mansionem Templi*.⁵⁵⁴ The following year the Marquis ratified an alliance with Asti *in ayratio sancte Marie mansionis templi de Aste*.⁵⁵⁵ The choice of locations further shows that the Temple was well accepted by this commune. Another interesting fact that can be seen in this document is that the Templar house of Asti was dedicated to Holy Mary.

In 1244 the preceptor of the house was Bianco da Pigazzano, who, in this capacity, attended the chapter held in Piacenza.⁵⁵⁶ Note that Bianco was subsequently promoted to provincial master. It thus could be that the task of running this house was seen as a testing ground for those aspiring to the higher ranks of the Order. This further underlines the importance of the house, which is also where Albertino di Canelli, future papal ostiary, was admitted into the Order in the presence of Guarino and Giorgio, then preceptor of the house. The ceremony was attended by Guglielmo di Canelli, preceptor of Lombardy, and another member of the family.⁵⁵⁷ On the basis of these attestations it seems that the importance of the Templar house of Asti was also closely linked to the positions of power obtained in the Order by local families.⁵⁵⁸ The enduring relevance of this convent is also highlighted by the fact that Nicola da Montecucco, brother of Giacomo, Templar master of Lombardy, was received into the Temple here.⁵⁵⁹

The fact that the house was an important point of reference in the administration of the Piedmont region was confirmed in January 1267, when Bianco, *preceptor mansionis Placentie et rector et minister pro Templo in Lombardia*, planned to go to Asti *occasione solvendi debita de Pedemonto* and asked Manfredo de Villanova, preceptor of the *mansio* of Osiglia, to

⁵⁵³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 89–90.

⁵⁵⁴ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 742, p. 793.

⁵⁵⁵ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 915, p. 1038.

⁵⁵⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

⁵⁵⁷ *Le procès*, I, pp. 424–428.

⁵⁵⁸ See above, Chapters III and IV, pp. 101 ff., 137 ff.

⁵⁵⁹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 198–199, 341–343; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 125–127, 321–327.

bring the rent due from Lanfranco, bishop of Alberga, on the house of San Calocero, to Asti. If Bianco was not there, he was to leave the money with the local preceptor.⁵⁶⁰

Following this, Alberto di Canelli, preceptor of Asti, Chieri and Gorra in 1268 and then of Asti alone in 1271, attended two provincial chapters in Piacenza and was always first in the list of the preceptors attending.⁵⁶¹ This too confirms the importance of the house he was in charge of.

This town was also the headquarters of the Hospitaller priory of Lombardy, which covered North-west Italy only, and this Order too had many dignitaries originating from the Asti-Montferrat area.⁵⁶² The same was partly true of the Temple, apart from the fact that the Templar province of Lombardy covered the whole of northern Italy and part of Emilia Romagna. Because of this, other houses such as Piacenza and Bologna were given precedence, especially in the second half of the thirteenth century, as they were more centrally located in relation to the province.

The first mention of a subsequent preceptor of this house was made in 1285, when Federico de Bargiis, together with the preceptor of Pavia and Casei Gerola, was called on to represent the Order in a dispute over compensation for damage inflicted on property belonging to the *mansio* of Chieri.⁵⁶³ Federico can perhaps be identified as the preceptor of the same name of the house of Murello, attested to in 1266.⁵⁶⁴ In 1251 Innocent IV had forbidden the Temple to grant the Murello house to the commune of Asti.⁵⁶⁵ Even though the house remained in the hands of the Military Order to comply with the papal dictates, the possible transfer of one of its preceptors to the house of Asti shows that the relationship between the convents of these towns was still quite close. Furthermore, the arbiter in the dispute with Chieri was Rolando, papal chaplain and canon of Asti.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 100.

⁵⁶¹ Tommaso di Asti also took part in the 1268 chapter. Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁵⁶² Bordone, "San Pietro", pp. 43–64; Bordone, Crosetto, Tosco, eds., *L'antico San Pietro in Asti*; Bordone, "I cavalieri", pp. 339–375.

⁵⁶³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194.

⁵⁶⁴ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 430, p. 342.

⁵⁶⁵ *Chartarum*, doc. 951, cols. 1406–1407.

⁵⁶⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194; Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 10, pp. 170–171; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 426–427.

Another attestation to the Templar presence in this town is datable to 1286, when Ascherio da Paciliano, vicar-general of the bishop of Asti, had a papal letter authenticated on the request of Giacomo Carraccia, a *confrater* from Savona and *procurator* of the Temple. Unfortunately, we do not know why the proctor decided to do this. It is highly likely that it had something to do with a dispute involving the Temple in which it had to show the privileges it had been granted.⁵⁶⁷

In the same year a reference was made to the presence of the presbyter Corrado Scarampo in the Templar church of Asti, Santa Maria del Tempio.⁵⁶⁸ Scarampo, at that time involved in a dispute with Guglielmo Torta from Chieri over the church of San Giorgio di Malamorte,⁵⁶⁹ was descended from one of the most prominent families in the city.⁵⁷⁰ The fact that he chose the Templar convent as his temporary base further underlines the positive links that the house had with the local ruling class and hints at a whole network of relations which, unfortunately, we can only guess at.

After 1312 this house came into the hands of the Knights of St. John. The possessions of the Hospitaller commendam in Asti are described in a *cabreum* of 1619, in which a piece of land close to a church named Madonna del Tempio is also mentioned.⁵⁷¹ The Templar house stood to the east of the Hospitaller complex, next to the Ponte Verde in a district called “La Vittoria”, where there is now Viale del Pilone, just outside Porta Arco. It was situated near the road which, heading east, led to what is now Lombardy.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁷ *Documenti capitolari*, doc. 398, pp. 184–185, doc. 614, p. 297.

⁵⁶⁸ *Documenti capitolari*, docs. 594–595, p. 288.

⁵⁶⁹ *Documenti capitolari*, doc. 480 ff., p. 232 ff.

⁵⁷⁰ Various members of the family had important roles in the commune. See *Codex Astensis, ad indicem*.

⁵⁷¹ L. Schiavone, “Contributo alla storia dell’ordine gerosolimitano in Asti. Cabreo della commenda d’Asti fatto l’anno 1619”, *Il Platano*, 6 (1982), p. 21.

⁵⁷² A. Bianco, *Asti medievale* (Asti, 1960), p. 82; R. Bordone, *Città e territorio nell’alto medioevo. La società astigiana dal dominio dei Franchi all’affermazione comunale*, BSSS 200 (Turin, 1980), pp. 213–214; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 286–287. For shelter and care in Asti see Meyer, *Die Function*, pp. 26–50.

GORRA

VILLASTELLONE

Mansio or *domus*

Church of San Giovanni Battista

Church of San Martino

(Hospitaller dedication)

The area of Stellone, where San Martino stands, is attested to from 1142⁵⁷³ and the first reference to the Order in this district dates back to 1203 when Rolando Bergognino, preceptor of the houses of Chieri, Turin, Gorra and Testona, sold some Templar property here to the commune of Chieri.⁵⁷⁴ This sale was in line with Chieri's policy of expanding towards the Po. In fact, on the newly acquired land, the commune intended to found a *villanova* that could control the use of the local rivers, whose waters were needed not only for the town's supply but also as a source of energy for milling grain. At the same time, the Templars kept the ownership of the house of Gorra, with the aim of making it into a stable point of reference in the new suburb.⁵⁷⁵

Unfortunately, the operation did not go as planned and a long-lasting dispute arose between the Temple and Chieri. The house of Gorra, however, became more firmly established and had its own preceptor, attested too when the dispute was still going on with Chieri. The head of the Gorra house was named as Pietro in the Piacenza chapter of 1244, and was mentioned again in the document of 1245 that marked the end of the dispute over the sale to Chieri.⁵⁷⁶ Also mentioned in this deed were the brethren Enrico de Altixano (i.e., Antignano, close to Asti),⁵⁷⁷ and Pietro de Turiglis (perhaps Torriglia, in Liguria, or else Turrigli near Montemале di Cuneo).⁵⁷⁸ Pietro is perhaps identifiable as the anonymous *preceptor* mentioned in 1253.⁵⁷⁹ In 1268 the house of Gorra, together with the other nearby convents, was placed under the authority of Alberto Canelli.⁵⁸⁰

A clearer picture of the characteristics of this *mansio* can be drawn from the deeds of 1203 and 1245, which give quite a detailed description of the Templar house and its activities.

⁵⁷³ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 1, p. 6.

⁵⁷⁴ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45–46, pp. 80–85.

⁵⁷⁵ Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 132.

⁵⁷⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

⁵⁷⁷ Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 140.

⁵⁷⁸ Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 140, note 52.

⁵⁷⁹ *I più antichi catasti*, p. 243.

⁵⁸⁰ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48.

The main thing was that the land sold by Rolando Bergognino was used in a variety of ways. It consisted of pasture, cultivated ground and unused land with a series of rights, partly related to the use of the water from the Stellone and Po rivers. The focal point of these lands was the *Campus de Costa*, bordered by the Po itself, the Stellone and the local roads.⁵⁸¹ The Temple was to keep the ownership of a plot with an *ayrale* within the area of the sold land. The Templar house was to be self-sufficient, with its own bakery and a mill. Finally, it could fish in the rivers for its own consumption, but would not be allowed to sell the catch. The Templars would also be entitled to officiate at funerals and perform parochial functions in the new village.⁵⁸²

It seems that the sale made by Rolando Bergognino was all but impulsive. The deed of sale included a large number of specific rights and safeguards for the Templar house of Gorra, which was to become a point of reference for the new community of Villastellone.

The contract drawn up with the Temple put great emphasis on the use of the water courses in Gorra, and the same thing can be seen in the deeds on Chieri's properties in Santena⁵⁸³ and Cavanne.⁵⁸⁴ The need to settle part of its excess population in a new zone with a good water supply, which could also be used by the commune, was, in fact, the main reason for Chieri's purchase of Gorra, with the added advantages of being able to farm some of the new land and gain control over a number of road junctions.⁵⁸⁵ The importance of these needs is further borne out by the fact that Chieri refused to give up when it met with resistance in putting its plan into effect, and attempted to implement a similar scheme in Cavanne, which, however, failed. Only after this failure did they turn their attentions once more to Gorra, where the new settlement was not attested to until 1236.⁵⁸⁶

Meanwhile, Testona was trying to stop the advance of Chieri towards the Po. In 1229, Testona purchased one third of the castle and *villa* of Gorra with its surrounding land and all related rights—including water use rights—from the lords of Monfalcone.⁵⁸⁷ Testona was thus trying to thwart Chieri's plans by acquiring all the rights related to

⁵⁸¹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, p. 81.

⁵⁸² *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 45–46, pp. 80–86.

⁵⁸³ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 26, pp. XXIII–XXV.

⁵⁸⁴ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 22, p. 46.

⁵⁸⁵ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, pp. 165–171.

⁵⁸⁶ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 32–38.

⁵⁸⁷ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, p. 172.

the land where the commune of Chieri wanted to build its *villanova*. In 1228, the sources tell us that Testona forbade the people of Chieri from crossing their land and in another deed, which, unfortunately, has not reached us, they were forbidden from using the mills on the Po.⁵⁸⁸

It was against this background that the dispute between the Temple and Chieri arose. The 1245 deed confirmed that the Temple had to maintain a church with a cemetery in Gorra. The building described in the 1203 document could be built on the land that they owned. The Order was also assigned the *villa's* entire *fornaticum* and the possession of all the ovens, together with the burial rights, offering and tithe collection rights and parochial functions in general. This agreement reiterated only some of the conditions in the original sale. As regards the *fornaticum*, for example, the Temple was given the monopoly, which had not been the case previously. Also, the water use rights for the two settlements were defined differently. The 1203 deed stated that the Templars could have a mill and a fisherman, provided the fisherman's catch was not sold, whereas in the 1245 agreement the Temple could have more than one fisherman. Chieri could divert the Stellone and the Po backwaters and build all the structures necessary for the use of the water. Three quarters of the products of the milling were due to Chieri and one quarter to the Templars. The same criterion was followed in sharing the catch, the expenses for the construction of the water machinery, the timber used and the wages of the *colectores ad capiendam multuram*. All the people of Chieri were entitled to use the mills. The right to use the pasture was divided equally between Chieri and the Templars. The commune of Chieri also pledged to defend the Templars against their neighbours (the *provinciales*, the inhabitants of the *villanova* and the people of Chieri themselves). This agreement was to be transcribed in the *Liber statutorum* of the commune.⁵⁸⁹

The 1245 document stressed that the respective rights of the two communities should be more clearly defined than in the initial sale agreement for the sake of their coexistence. The needs of both, therefore, had been assessed and reconciled, thus putting an end to the state of conflict, stressed by some terms of the conciliation itself, that had undoubtedly impeded the development of both settlement. It is most probable that the clash between the Temple and Chieri was caused by

⁵⁸⁸ Colombo, *Notizie*, p. 12; *Cartario di Pinerolo*, part I, doc. 94, pp. 123–133.

⁵⁸⁹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 88–90.

the rivalry that had built up between the two parties, who had been arguing over some of the prerogatives and use rights for a long time after Chieri had finally decided to go ahead with building the new settlement. The gravity of the conflict is confirmed by the fact that the Templar church had still not been built in 1245.⁵⁹⁰ It has not been proved that the dispute began shortly after the sale because of the Temple giving its support to the commune of Testona, which transferred its headquarters to the village that had formed near to the Templar *mansio* of Sant'Egidio. As we have seen, there were also other factors to discourage Chieri from completing this plan. Whilst cultivating good relations with Testona, it is also likely that the Temple attempted to safeguard its prerogatives in Chieri and Gorra, at least initially. However, the friction between Chieri and Testona is very likely to have harmed the relationship between the Order and Chieri and perhaps the Temple's intransigence in the Gorra dispute was partly due to its relations with the commune of Moncalieri.

In the end, unfortunately, the Villastellone venture was not a success, given the difficulties encountered by Chieri in inhabiting this damp, unhealthy zone,⁵⁹¹ and the problem of the lack of water was to recur later on.⁵⁹²

After the suspension of the Temple the houses of Gorra and Villastellone passed on to the Knights of St. John. In 1245 the parish church in Villastellone, which later the Hospitallers dedicated to St. John the Baptist, had not yet been built, but after peace was made between the two sides it was to replace San Martino as the point of reference for the local congregation. This latter church, currently dedicated to Sant'Anna, stands on the road to Santena. It has been subject to many alterations and there are no signs of its mediaeval origins. Via Mazzini now marks the road that led from here to Stellone, whereas Via Assom and the bend in the Stellone-Po backwater were two of the boundaries of the *Campus de Costa*. So, the stretch of land sold by the Temple partly coincides with the old centre of Villastellone, where the church of San Giovanni Battista stood.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹⁰ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, p. 29, note 98.

⁵⁹¹ La Rocca, *Da Testona*, pp. 166–168.

⁵⁹² *Gli Statuti civili*, no. 220, p. 71, no. 224, p. 72, no. 278, p. 88, no. 286, p. 90, nos. 288–289, p. 91, no. 322, pp. 99–100; *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 103, pp. LXXVII–LXXIX; Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 44–48.

⁵⁹³ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 60–65.

The *advocatia* of San Martino was taken over in the thirteenth century by the Montecucco family, of which Giacomo, the *magister* of Lombardy, was probably a descendant.⁵⁹⁴

TURIN

Mansio or *domus*

Church of Santa Margherita

The earliest mention of the Temple in Turin dates from 1203 when some properties of the Order are named amongst those bordering on a plot of land put to rent.⁵⁹⁵ In the same year Rolando Bergognino was referred to as preceptor of the *mansiones* on the hills of Turin, including the Turin house itself.⁵⁹⁶ The following year Rolando no longer appeared in the records as preceptor of Turin, but continued to run the houses of Chieri, Gorra and Testona.⁵⁹⁷ The convent of Turin had close links with the local bishop and it could also have been that the bishop of Turin's support for the sale of Gorra (which was actually stipulated in the episcopal palace) was in exchange for giving more independence to the house of Turin. It could also be the case that Chieri's state of subjection to Turin, confirmed in the 1204 treaty mentioned earlier, resulted in Turin distancing itself from the other local houses.⁵⁹⁸ In any case, the Chieri and Testona communes' tendency of shaking off the bishop's yoke probably helped to sever the links between these neighbouring Templar houses.

The Turin Templars were attested to again in 1208 when Oberto di Acqui and Ogerio were at the bishop's palace in Turin for the drafting of a deed on a dispute between the Hospitallers of Chiomonte and the canons regular of Oulx.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁴ *Il «Libro delle investiture»*, doc. 54, pp. 187–189; *I protocolli di Tedisio*, p. XLV (the document incorrectly mentions San Martino di Strada instead of San Martino di Stellone).

⁵⁹⁵ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 65, p. 88.

⁵⁹⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, p. 80; Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 4, pp. 153–156; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 416–418.

⁵⁹⁷ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, p. 85.

⁵⁹⁸ Montanari Pesando, *Villaggi*, pp. 30–31.

⁵⁹⁹ *Le carte della prepositura di Oulx*, doc. 234, pp. 243–244.

At the Templar house of Turin in the presence of Guido di Trana, its preceptor, a deed was drawn up in 1216 for the monastery of Staffarda. Amongst the witnesses on this occasion were the Templars Oberto, probably already mentioned in 1208, and Pietro Baldissero.⁶⁰⁰ Templar possessions adjacent to the Order's house were mentioned again in 1214⁶⁰¹ and 1219.⁶⁰² Other documents refer to Templar property in Vanchiglia, *Val Favillera, pissinam raneam, in prato sabaino, ad Saxias* and *in Padisio*.⁶⁰³

In July 1251 the Turin Templars, together with members of other orders, were interrogated by the bishop of Rochester on the dispute between Thomas II of Savoy and the bishop of Turin. The Templars, like the others questioned, showed a cautious attitude, denying that Thomas had seized any episcopal property, apart from two castles that had already been declared available to the pope.⁶⁰⁴ In May 1273 Ogerio, preceptor of Santa Margherita del Tempio, appeared in a deed on the Cistercian monastery of Brione.⁶⁰⁵ These documents, together with those already cited and drawn up in 1216, show that there was frequent contact and good relations between the Temple and the local Cistercian abbey.

Unfortunately, none of the testimonies examined so far tells us the exact location of the Templar house. All that we have is the dedication in the 1216 deed, where it is called *domus Sancte Margarite*. In all probability it was near the built-up area of the city, outside the walls. Some documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries suggest that its location was in the south-east corner of the city, between Porta Fibellona and Porta Marmorea. In 1388 a road starting from Porta Fibellona and heading to Santa Margherita was mentioned, and a document from the end of the thirteenth century refers to a moat *Sancte Margerite extra portam Marmoream*. Then, in 1415, in the land register for

⁶⁰⁰ *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda*, I, doc. 149, pp. 149–150. Deeds quoted by Luigi Ferrero di Ponziglione, dated the 16th of June 1156, 1st of May 1180 and 21st of April 1191 attest to Templar possessions around Vanchiglia and in Val San Martino. These, though, have not been found and there are doubts about their authenticity. Ferrero di Ponziglione, “Saggio”, pp. 50–51.

⁶⁰¹ *Carte superstiti*, doc. 49, p. 175.

⁶⁰² *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 85, pp. 108–109.

⁶⁰³ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 66, p. 88, doc. 85, p. 109, doc. 87, p. 111; *Cartario della prevestura*, doc. 154, p. 174; *Carte superstiti*, doc. 49, p. 175; *Le Carte dell'archivio del Duomo di Torino*, doc. 52, p. 94, doc. 82, p. 161, doc. 92, p. 183.

⁶⁰⁴ *Documenti inediti*, doc. 204, pp. 208–209; Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, pp. 759–760.

⁶⁰⁵ *Cartario del monastero di Santa Maria di Brione*, doc. 67, p. 62.

the Porta Marmorea district, a reference was made to property in the area possessed by the *fratres domus Sancte Margarite*.⁶⁰⁶

On the basis of these attestations we can deduce that the Templar house is not identifiable as the current church of Santa Margherita, which stands on the opposite bank of the Po.⁶⁰⁷ The reference in the 1203 deed to some land on this side of the Po which bordered on the *domus Templi* is not very clear. It could refer either to another Templar settlement (to which there are no further references in any documents) or to some possessions belonging to the *domus Templi* of Santa Margherita.

The trial records also refer to a Templar from Turin called Rolando Lombardo, who was in Castellaraldo in 1300.⁶⁰⁸ The only information that directly concerns the trial in Turin is the publication of the papal bulls in February 1310.⁶⁰⁹

After the end of the Order the house of Santa Margherita passed to the Knights of St. John, whose base in Turin was at the church of San Severo, outside Porta Fibellona.⁶¹⁰ Unfortunately, nothing now remains of the Templar *mansio*, which was destroyed during extension works on the city fortifications in 1547.⁶¹¹ The rampart erected in the south-east corner of the defences was named “di Santa Margherita” after the church.

⁶⁰⁶ Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 137, note 38.

⁶⁰⁷ This building was built in the nineteenth century on the site of an existing church. E. Gribaudo Rossi, *La collina di Torino da San Mauro a Moncalieri* (Turin, 1983), p. 52.

⁶⁰⁸ *The Trial of Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 250.

⁶⁰⁹ *Carte*, I, /2, doc. 343, p. 558.

⁶¹⁰ *Documenti inediti*, p. 64. Further attestations of this house and its estate are in *Le carte dell'Archivio arcivescovile di Torino*, doc. 73, p. 77, doc. 322, p. 355; Torelli, *Memorie*, I, p. 107; *Cartario del monastero di S. Maria di Brione*, doc. 72, pp. 67–69; *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 159, p. 212, doc. 165, p. 220; *Documenti inediti*, doc. 320, pp. 336–342; *I protocolli di Tedisio*, doc. 22, p. 32; *Documenti sulle relazioni fra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 485, p. 321; Casiraghi, *La diocesi di Torino*, p. 150, note 96, p. 155, note 163.

⁶¹¹ Several churches were destroyed with the demolition of the quarters around the city. E.A. Della Chiesa, *Corona Reale di Savoia* (Cuneo, 1655), p. 272 (where, it is incorrectly noted that not only was there a demolished Hospitaller commendam but also a Humiliati convent, named after Santa Margherita); Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 673.

SUSA

Domus

One of the witnesses named in a deed from 1185 on the Hospitaller house of Susa was the Templar Guglielmo.⁶¹² This in itself does not confirm the existence of a local Templar house at this time, although it is very likely that the Templar Order had realised the importance of this location in relation to the road network.⁶¹³ It should also be noted that earlier, in 1181, two of the sons of the castellan of Susa had left a legacy to the Military Order of Mountjoy, in exchange for the right to wear the Order's habit, should this be requested.⁶¹⁴ In this period, therefore, Military Orders were a kind of religious institution familiar to the inhabitants of Susa.

The first time the Temple's presence in this area was definitely attested to was in 1204, when the Templars were listed amongst the owners of properties bordering on a chestnut wood in San Giorio.⁶¹⁵ The following year Bernerio di San Giorio sold some land to the chartreuse of Monte Benedetto and the deed was drawn up *apud Secusiam, in Templo*. One of the witnesses was the Templar Pietro.⁶¹⁶

There is no further documentary information on this house for almost ten years until 1213, when the Templar Enrico appeared as witness in a deed of the chartreuse of Monte Benedetto.⁶¹⁷ Then, in the record of a donation dated 1241, again to the chartreuse of Monte Benedetto, there is a mention of Pietro, *preceptor Templi tunc temporis*. Here too, the document was drawn up *in domo Templi*.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹² Pazé, "Lungo la strada di Provenza", p. 63, doc. 2, p. 78.

⁶¹³ The provostship of Oulx was also attributed mistakenly to the Temple. Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 686, note 565; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 127. On the houses of the Hospital in this area see Pazé, "Lungo la strada", pp. 43–80.

⁶¹⁴ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Ordenes Militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, Castellania de Amposta, legajo 38, doc. 36. The Order of Mountjoy is one of the Military Orders created in the twelfth century. The unpublished document that notes this donation is mentioned in A.J. "The Order of Mountjoy", *Speculum*, 44 (1971), p. 255, note 33, reprinted in Forey, *Military Orders*, essay XI. On Mountjoy's presence in Lombardy see E. Bellomo, "Fulfilling a Mediterranean Vocation: The *domus Sancte Marie Montis Gaudii de Jerusalem* in Medieval Lombardy", forthcoming.

⁶¹⁵ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 40, p. 63.

⁶¹⁶ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 45, p. 68.

⁶¹⁷ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 79, pp. 103–104.

⁶¹⁸ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 181, p. 217.

Two years later, again in the Templar house, a deed was issued in the presence of the Templar Ottone regarding the transfer of some land in the possession of the Carthusians of Monte Benedetto. One of the lands bordering on this property was a chestnut wood belonging to the Templars.⁶¹⁹

We do not know whether the Hospitallers acquired this house in 1312.⁶²⁰ In a *cabreum* of the Order, there is a reference to a chapel on the banks of the Dora called San Giovanni di Rodes, which has been identified as the old Templar house.⁶²¹ Currently, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence to bear out this theory.

Finally, it should be noted that the Berardi family, from the local nobility, had a *frater* of the Order, Ugo (c.1150),⁶²² amongst its members, and it has also been suggested that Thomas Bérard, a Grand Master of the Order, was descended from this family.⁶²³

LIVORNO FERRARIS

Mansio or *domus*

Church of Santa Maria di Isana

In a document from 1208 the *Mansio Templi* is listed as one of the owners of the properties bordering on a piece of land *in loco Levurni* which belonged to the monastery of Rocca delle Donne.⁶²⁴ The existence of this house is confirmed in a deed from 1222 in which the *domus Sancte Marie de Ysana* was put under the protection of Giacomo de Mellacio together with those of Vercelli, Novara and Ivrea.⁶²⁵ Subsequently the

⁶¹⁹ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 186, pp. 222–223. This property was also noted in the 1204 deed and was at San Giorio, almost on the boundary with Villarfochiardo. S. Provana di Collegno, *Notizie e documenti su alcune certose del Piemonte*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1900), II, doc. 77, p. 233. The same author made the mistaken assertion, which he then corrected, that the Templars also had property in Villarfochiardo too. Provana di Collegno, *Notizie*, p. 82, note 5; S. Provana di Collegno, “Notizie d’alcune certose del Piemonte”, *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, 1 (1895), p. 119.

⁶²⁰ The first mentions of the Hospital in this area date from 1173 (in Chiomonte) and 1185 (in Susa). Pazé, “Lungo la strada”, p. 46, docs. 1–2, p. 78.

⁶²¹ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 76.

⁶²² *Regesta Comitum Sabaudie*, doc. 305, p. 112.

⁶²³ Imperio, “Thomas Bérard”, pp. 71–84.

⁶²⁴ *Le carte del monastero di Rocca delle Donne*, ed. F. Loddo, BSSS 89 (Turin, 1929), doc. 12, p. 18.

⁶²⁵ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 151.

preceptors of the house, Gerardo and Giovanni, attended the chapters of 1268 and 1271. In his published version of the documents issued on these meetings, Ezio Trota has transcribed that they were in charge of the houses of *Luvino* and *Linnitio*, whereas the deed actually reads *domus de Livurno* and *domus de Livuno*.⁶²⁶

In 1298 the *ecclesia Sancte Marie de Exana*, which *subest milicie Templi*, paid a tithe of forty *lire*.⁶²⁷

The last attestation to this house (that stood on the route of the *Francigena*)⁶²⁸ in the Templar period dates to the end of January 1310, when the inquisitor Ottone da Milano handed over the management of the house to the vicars of the archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa. After the dissolution of the Order the house was passed on to the Knights of St. John and became part of the commendam of Verolengo.⁶²⁹

The church that belonged to the Temple still exists today and is well conserved (Figures 2, 3, 4). It is the best surviving example of the architecture of the Order in North-west Italy and the style of building dates it to the middle of the twelfth century.⁶³⁰

FIORENZUOLA D'ARDA

Domus

Church of Santa Margherita

The first deed that mentions this house dates back to 1211, the year in which some residents of Fiorenzuola asked Pope Innocent III's permission to attend the divine offices in the local *paupercola ecclesia Templi*. They had been forbidden to do this by Tedaldo, archpriest of the church of San Fiorenzo, who was responsible for the cure of souls in the district. Several times Tedaldo threatened to excommunicate anybody attending the recently built Templar church. These people then decided to appeal to the pope and, three years later, the people of

⁶²⁶ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52; Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico, Fondo Camera segreta, Serie Cartolari, Registri di Privilegi e Statuti della comunità di Modena, Registrum Antiquum, no. 401, fol. 165^v, no. 429, fol. 179^r.

⁶²⁷ *Acta Reginae Montis Oropae*, I, p. 31.

⁶²⁸ Stopani, *La via Francigena*, p. 90.

⁶²⁹ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 747ff.; F. Spegis, *Presenza gerosolimitana a Verolengo. Fonti per una storia* (Chivasso, 2004), pp. 149–242.

⁶³⁰ Tosco, "Architetture", p. 63.

Fiorenzuola were granted the possibility of being buried in the church of Santa Margherita del Tempio. The archpriest of San Fiorenzo, Giovanni, Tedaldo's successor, pledged to abide by this decision. The Templars were represented by Ottone Barba Scovata, *minister* and preceptor of the house of Piacenza, Alberto, preceptor of Fiorenzuola, and Guglielmo, its presbyter.⁶³¹

In 1268 Giacomo, preceptor di Fiorenzuola, attended the provincial chapter held in Piacenza.⁶³² The only further mention of this house is in the inquisitorial administration records. On the 26th of August 1308, Giacomo di Montedonico, vicar of the inquisitor Guglielmo da Genova, came into possession of the Templar house of Fiorenzuola with an adjoining *curia* and a little church, which by that time had been abandoned. The income from this convent was made up of annuities paid in kind. There were also several houses on the estate.⁶³³ On a number of occasions Guglielmo either went to the house himself⁶³⁴ or sent servants and officials to supervise the running of the Templar estate.⁶³⁵ This house was also noted in the testimony of Lanfranco di Fiorenzuola, who was from here and who admitted to the heterodoxy of the Order,⁶³⁶ and, according to another witness, two *militēs* had escaped so as not to be subject to heretical practices and were later arrested in Fiorenzuola.⁶³⁷

After the dissolution of the Temple the house went to the Knights of St. John and was administered together with the convent of Piacenza and other neighbouring houses.⁶³⁸ Evidence of the Templar presence in Fiorenzuola can still be seen in the name of a little street called 'dei Templari'. This replaced the old Via Dritta, which was on the route of the *Francigena*. Santa Margherita was located on the corner of the modern-day Via dei Templari and Via Garibaldi. It was knocked down at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶³⁹

⁶³¹ "Le pergamene ritrovate", pp. 87–89.

⁶³² Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁶³³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, pp. 486–487, doc. 332, p. 524.

⁶³⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 526, 531. See also *ibid.*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 524.

⁶³⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 525–526.

⁶³⁶ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

⁶³⁷ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 466–467.

⁶³⁸ Arena, *Documenti*, V, pp. 88–90; Clemente, *I beni*, p. 121 ff.

⁶³⁹ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 193.

SAVIGLIANO

Domus

The earliest attestation to the Templars in Savigliano is from 1217, the year when Anselmo, provost of Levaldigi, together with some other clerics, sold a meadow in Levaldigi that bordered on the *domus Militie Templi* of Savigliano.⁶⁴⁰ The Templars could have been here some time before this, however, given that the Templar Guglielmo was named as one of the witnesses to a donation to the church of Santa Maria in Savigliano made in 1181.⁶⁴¹ Also, it should be remembered that Rolando Bergognino had been *podestà* of this commune before donning the Templar habit.⁶⁴²

In September 1247 Oddone di Biandrate, with the consent of Giacomo de Balma, procurator of the Temple in Lombardy, rented the hill of Montemaggiore in the Marene district to the commune of Savigliano in exchange for the payment of an annuity. This hill bordered on the area under the influence of a rival village, Cherasco, and Savigliano wanted to build fortifications here to defend itself against attacks by its neighbours.⁶⁴³ The plan for the foundation of Cherasco, conceived by Alba with the support of Frederick II, was then disregarded by the emperor.⁶⁴⁴ The *borgo nuovo* was demolished in 1247, but the persistence of hostilities between Savigliano and Alba is confirmed by the fact that a peace treaty was ratified in 1251.⁶⁴⁵ The tower built in Montemaggiore was then under the dominion of Cherasco from at least 1294, and was later destroyed in 1348.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁰ Turletti, *Storia*, II, pp. 263–264.

⁶⁴¹ *Carte varie a supplemento e complemento dei volumi II, III, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XXII, XXXVI, XLIV, LXV, LXVII, LXVIII della Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina*, eds. F. Gabotto, F. Guasco di Bisio, G. Peyrani, G.B. Rossano, V. Druetti, M. Vanzetti, BSSS 86 (Pinerolo, 1916–1939), doc. 244, p. 320; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, pp. 115–116; Ferrero di Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 35; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 359; Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 88–89.

⁶⁴² See above, Chapter IV, pp. 159–160.

⁶⁴³ Turletti, *Storia*, II, p. 264.

⁶⁴⁴ F. Voerzio, *Storia di Cherasco* (Mondovì, 1618), pp. 136–137.

⁶⁴⁵ Panero, *Comuni*, p. 204. The consuls of Alba still appeared as guarantors in 1249 of a peace agreement between Cuneo, Mondovì, Fossano and Savigliano. *Rigestum*, doc. 112, p. 150.

⁶⁴⁶ D. Bacino, “Il territorio della villanova di Cherasco”, in Panero, ed., *Cherasco*, p. 144, note 13.

According to recent studies, the Templar house of Savigliano stood where Via Jerusalem now lies.⁶⁴⁷ Local historians say that it was taken over by the Dominicans in about 1286 and renamed San Domenico.⁶⁴⁸ Others claim that the nearby church of the Annunziata is the one identifiable as the Templar house.⁶⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the lack of documentary evidence makes it impossible to trace the history of this house more accurately.

NOVARA

One or two *domus* or *mansiones*

One or two churches (San Guglielmo and/or Santa Maria)

The first mention of a local Templar house here dates from 1222. In a document issued in Vercelli Giacomo de Mellacio, preceptor of the Templar house of Vercelli, was given the task of protecting the interests of the houses of San Giacomo d'Albareto in Vercelli, Santa Maria in Novara, Santa Maria in Isana, Santa Maria in Ruspaglia and San Nazaro in Ivrea.⁶⁵⁰ During these years the communes in this region were bitterly divided and in all probability the Templar houses were affected by this.⁶⁵¹ As we shall see, the fact that the Templar convent of Novara was dedicated to Santa Maria, as written in the document, is of significance.

This house was mentioned again in the attendance list for the 1268 chapter, which also included the preceptor of Novara, Bonfilio, whose preceptorship is referred to in general terms as *domus de Novaria*.⁶⁵²

The next references to this house occur during the trial. In January 1310 Tebaldo Bruzio, vicar-general to the bishop of Novara, pub-

⁶⁴⁷ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, pp. 69–70.

⁶⁴⁸ A. Olmo, *Arte in Savigliano* (Savigliano, 1978), p. 83.

⁶⁴⁹ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 70. The belief that there was a Templar house near Monasterolo di Savigliano, whose existence should be proven by the presence of tombstone of a brother of the Order there—cf. L. Cera, *Monasterolo di Savigliano dal monastero benedettino di san Silvestro di Nonantola al terzo millennio* (Savigliano, 2002), pp. 23, 41–42, and fig. 20, is mistaken. The stone, now in the chapel of the Viticci Richini family in Sant'Albino, does not depict a Templar but a lay knight with his family coat-of-arms on his breastplate.

⁶⁵⁰ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 151–152.

⁶⁵¹ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 92.

⁶⁵² Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48.

lished the papal letters on the inquiry into the Temple in the city's cathedral.⁶⁵³ At the end of that month Ottone da Milano, the inquisitor *heretice pravitatis in partibus Novarie, Vercellarum et Yporegie*, handed the report of his administration to the vicars of the archbishops of Pisa and Ravenna. Unfortunately this document does not provide any specific information on the revenues and expenses of the house of Novara and what kinds of crops and activities they were based on.⁶⁵⁴

The most interesting detail in Ottone da Milano's inventory is the name given to the Templar house, San Guglielmo, whereas in 1222 it was dedicated to Santa Maria. Explanations of this double naming are provided by some scholars thanks to later documents. On the basis of the records of a chapter of the Order of St. John, held in Malta in 1533, they say that the earlier Templar house, named after the Virgin, can be identified with a church that was part of the commendam of San Guglielmo in Novara called Santa Maria della Magione.⁶⁵⁵ It was located near Vogogna (Val d'Ossola), and in the record of a prioral visit in 1740 it is described as a simple building standing near the Toce river.⁶⁵⁶ Vogogna was located on the road from Novara to the Sempione Pass and had a certain importance because of its position on the local road network.⁶⁵⁷ There was also a ferry crossing the river Toce at Santa Maria.⁶⁵⁸ It should also be remembered that the destruction of the nearby village of Vergante in the mid-thirteenth century led to an increase in the population of Vogogna, through the influx of people from the destroyed community.⁶⁵⁹

However, the identification of this Hospitaller convent as the Templar house, which was attested to in 1222, raises a serious problem. Vogogna is actually about eighty kilometres north of Novara and, given this considerable distance, it seems strange that it was referred to as Santa Maria of Novara in the 1222 deed. Some argued that this reference can be explained by the fact that the house in Val d'Ossola was the sole Templar establishment in the diocese of Novara at that

⁶⁵³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 341, pp. 555–556.

⁶⁵⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 342, p. 556.

⁶⁵⁵ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 94.

⁶⁵⁶ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 599–601. Several other modern-era documents on this house are kept in the Archivio di Stato in Milan. Arena, *Documenti*, V, p. 37 ff.

⁶⁵⁷ F. Cognasso, *Novara nella sua storia*, in *Novara e il suo territorio* (Novara, 1952), p. 15.

⁶⁵⁸ Cognasso, *Novara*, p. 244; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 605.

⁶⁵⁹ G. Andenna, *Andar per castelli. Da Novara tutto intorno* (Turin, 1982), p. 178.

time.⁶⁶⁰ However, this hypothesis is not convincing, and it is worth noting that no mediaeval document refers to a Templar *domus* here. Thus, the most likely assumption is that the earlier Templar house, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was probably much nearer to Novara. This house could have subsequently disappeared or simply changed its name to San Guglielmo. In this case, it still has to be explained why the Order decided to discard a dedication so dear to it.

The San Guglielmo *mansio* stood outside the Porta di Vercelli in the San Gaudenzio district on the road from Novara to Vercelli.⁶⁶¹

The Knights of St. John were also established in Novara. The local Hospitaller house, San Giovanni dei Pellegrini, stood outside Porta Milano on the route of the *strata mediolanensis*, which led to the Ticino river.⁶⁶² The first mention of the Knights of St. John in Novara dates back to 1179.⁶⁶³

BRESCIA

Mansio

Church of Santa Maria del Tempio

The first attestation to a Templar house in Brescia dates from 1222. Up to the end of the last century, in local historiography, this convent was thought to have dated back to 1101, on the basis of a donation

⁶⁶⁰ S. Fiori, “La magione dell’Ossola Inferiore e il «porto della magione»”, in *Atti del XXIII Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 2006), p. 38.

⁶⁶¹ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 593.

⁶⁶² Cognasso, *Novara*, p. 245.

⁶⁶³ *L’ospedale della carità di Novara, il Codice vetus: documenti dei secoli XII–XIV*, ed. M.F. Baroni (Novara, 1985), doc. 212, p. 282; G. Andenna, “Le «domus» gerosolimitane nella «Lombardia occidentale» in età tardomedievale e moderna”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Riviera di Levante*, pp. 335–355; Battioni, “Aspetti”, p. 427. For the hospitals in the Novara area, see Meyer, *Die Function*, pp. 168–184. The fact that there was a certain amount of sensitivity towards Outremer amongst the people of Novara can also be seen in the will of Guglielmo Colli from 1222, who bequeathed a legacy to three men to ensure that they would go to the East. Giancarlo Andenna states that the *mansio* of San Genesio in Ghemme was a Templar house but the sole deed that he quotes does not mention the Temple. Moreover, we know that in 1225 the *domus* of Ghemme belonged to the Hospital. There is no other house in the neighbourhood that could have belonged to the Templars. Andenna, “Le «domus» gerosolimitane”, pp. 336, 339; *Le carte dell’archivio capitolare di S. Maria di Novara*, eds. F. Gabotto, A. Lizier, A. Leone, G.B. Morandi, O. Scarzello, G. Basso, 3 vols., BSSS 78–80 (Pinerolo, 1913–1924), III, doc. 601, pp. 144–145; *I Biscioni*, I/3, doc. 492, pp. 40–41.

deed drawn up by the married couple Ugo and Alda, residents of Brescia. Oberto, *frater dicte mansionis Templi et ecclesie sancte Marie*, received some land from them located in the countryside around the *Braida della ruota*, next to the Templar church. A sum of money was donated for the rebuilding of the church itself, which had just been taken over by the Templars, and for extending its property. In return, Oberto and his successors had to allow a priest into the *mansio*, together with a cleric or a servant, who were to celebrate the divine office for the couple every day. Three silver marks were to be donated annually to support the Order. If the Templars were to abandon their commitment to defend pilgrims and the Holy Places, then their church and its possessions would be passed to the blacksmiths' guild (*Paratico dei Fabbri*) of Brescia.⁶⁶⁴ The document also attributed considerable powers to the *Paratico* in transactions concerning the *mansio* estate, already in the Templar period (despite the fact that the convent was owned by the Templars).⁶⁶⁵

The edition by the Brescia scholar Federico Odorici is based on a sixteenth century copy with an enclosed declaration attesting to the existence of an earlier copy, now lost.⁶⁶⁶ A number of details cast doubt on the authenticity of this document. What is totally unacceptable is the date of the donation (1101), which is before the foundation of the Temple. The reference to the abandoning of the Holy Land by the Templars would seem to date this forgery to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was probably in this very period, after the dissolution of the Templar Order and the transfer of its possessions to the Knights of St. John, that the first rows broke out over the ownership of Santa Maria and the blacksmiths' guild decided to lay a legal basis to their claim on the house, perhaps interpolating a genuine donation. The dispute between Knights of St. John and the blacksmiths is not attested, however, until the fifteenth century onwards. The guild gradually gained the upper hand, and in 1580 obtained the right to nominate the rector-chaplain of the church, whereas the Knights of St. John had to provide for his upkeep.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁴ Guerrini, "La «mansio templi»", p. 315, note 1.

⁶⁶⁵ Odorici, *Storie bresciane*, V, pp. 81–83.

⁶⁶⁶ Odorici, *Storie bresciane*, V, p. 80, note 1. An Italian translation of the document, enclosed with the records of the subsequent disputes between the Knights of St. John and the blacksmiths' guild is in Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 1.

⁶⁶⁷ Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", p. 359; Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie

The relationship established between the Temple and the blacksmiths was borne out by the inscription on a tablet on the façade of the church of Santa Maria, which read: HOC EST OPUS ECCLESIE SUB / MARIE MANSIONIS TEMPLI QUE EDIFICATA / ET COMPLETA PER PARATICUM FERRARIORUM / BRIXIE ET DIOCESIS AD HONOREM DEI / ET VIRGINIS MARIE.⁶⁶⁸ The inscription, which is now lost, was undated, unfortunately, but may have been from the period when the Templars owned the church. So, there may well have been also an original donation, in which the *Paratico dei Fabbri* could also have been mentioned, and the date, form and content could have been altered afterwards for the dispute between the guild and the Knights of St. John.⁶⁶⁹

On noting the limited reliability of this testament, we should remember that it was from Brescia that Eugene III issued a document supporting the Templar Order in 1145.⁶⁷⁰ This, however, does not confirm the existence of a *mansio* in the town. The Order started recruiting in the area about twenty years later, as attested to by the fact that a certain Alberto de Brixia, *missus* of the Temple, acted on behalf of the Order in Cremona in 1165.⁶⁷¹ The possibility of the Temple already being in Brescia at this time is further strengthened by the fact that the town was positioned on a route frequented by pilgrims.⁶⁷²

The exact location of the *mansio* is given in the previously mentioned will of 1101: *in suburbio Sancte Agathe Brixie non multum longe ab ecclesiis sanctorum Nazarii et Celsi apud Braidam de Rotis*.⁶⁷³ Santa Maria del Tempio was located outside the city, to the south-west of the built-up area, and was included in the city only in the mid-1200s when new walls were built. The street which leads to the piazza of the former Templar church is named after the Military Order to this day.

The first attestation to this house dates back to 1222, when the *ecclesia Mansionis* was listed amongst the owners of the lands bordering on property belonging to the nearby church of San Nazaro.⁶⁷⁴ Of much

politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 1.

⁶⁶⁸ Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, Manoscritto Quer. Ms Fè 57. m 4-10, fols. 271^v-272^r; Guerrini, "La «mansio templi»", p. 315.

⁶⁶⁹ Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", p. 360.

⁶⁷⁰ CT, doc. B21, p. 386.

⁶⁷¹ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 219, p. 131; *Le carte cremonesi*, III, doc. 417, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁷² Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", p. 362, note 21.

⁶⁷³ Odorici, *Storie bresciane*, V, p. 81.

⁶⁷⁴ E. Bellomo, "La prima attestazione documentaria dei Templari a Brescia", *Brixia*

greater significance, though, are the references to the house in the *Liber potheris comunis civitatis Brixie*. In 1239 and 1249 some of the Temple's property was affected by town expansion works, which had begun in Brescia in 1237.⁶⁷⁵ The *Liber potheris* gives the size and characteristics of the *domus* properties affected by the works and the amount of compensation paid to the Templars. The list includes cultivated ground, a plot planted with willows, several *case murate*, an *aqueductus*,⁶⁷⁶ a pigsty⁶⁷⁷ and a press.⁶⁷⁸ The Cagacii and Singiballi families appear in both lists of tenants.⁶⁷⁹ The former family came from Pontevico, and a tenant on the 1249 list was from Onzato. The Templars had property in both these places.⁶⁸⁰

The first deed directly concerning the running of the *mansio* estate is dated 1241. In this the preceptor Vivolo and Fr. Pietro exchanged a piece of partially cultivated land in the district *ad Franzacholam* with another plot in the same locality.⁶⁸¹ In 1254 Alberto Murete, preceptor of the house, assigned a *sedimen* in the *braidia Mansionis*⁶⁸² to a citizen of Brescia.

Sacra, III ser., 5/4 (2000), pp. 97–100; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 1, p. 372.

⁶⁷⁵ For these works, see E. Guidoni, “Un monumento della tecnica urbanistica duecentesca: l’espansione di Brescia nel 1237”, in *Lombardia. Il territorio, l’ambiente, il paesaggio* (Milan, 1981), pp. 127–136.

⁶⁷⁶ *Liber potheris comunis civitatis Brixie*, col. 487.

⁶⁷⁷ *Liber potheris comunis civitatis Brixie*, col. 485.

⁶⁷⁸ *Liber potheris comunis civitatis Brixie*, col. 434.

⁶⁷⁹ *Liber potheris comunis civitatis Brixie*, cols. 433–434, 485–486.

⁶⁸⁰ *Liber potheris comunis civitatis Brixie*, cols. 434, 487.

⁶⁸¹ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 1, no. 18; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 2, p. 372. In the summaries of the documents on the Temple written by Luigi Francesco Fè d’Ostiani and published by Paolo Guerrini, a number of deeds are mentioned which, unfortunately, I have been unable to trace. The first is dated the 16th of September 1239 and in it Vivolo, preceptor of the *mansio* of Brescia, and the Templar Pietro exchanged some plots of land with Giacomo, son of the late Martino di Azone di Mairano. There was another deed dated the 11th of September 1241, now lost, which mentioned Alberto de la Moretta, preceptor and *minister* of the church of the Temple, and the Templar Tolomeo. Guerrini, “La «mansio templi»”, docs. 1–2, p. 317.

⁶⁸² Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 1, no. 11; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 3, p. 372. In a deed dated the 6th of September 1263, noted by Guerrini but no longer traceable, Ermanno, preceptor of the Templar house of Brescia, invested Giacomo di Onzato with some lands. Three years later, Giacomo di Onzato again was invested with some other plots of land by Ermanno de Auxio, *magister et preceptor ecclesie militie Templi in Italia, habens secum dominum fratrem alium preceptorem mansionis Brixie*. Guerrini, “La «mansio templi»”, doc. 3, p. 317.

Alberto de Mezeta (perhaps the same person as Alberto Murete, mentioned above), Americo and Guglielmo, preceptors of the Templar *mansio*, attended the Order's provincial chapters in 1244, 1268 and 1271.⁶⁸³ In 1281 Bianco da Pigazzano was preceptor of a number of houses in the Po Valley, including that of Brescia.⁶⁸⁴

Moving on to the fourteenth century documents, the dispute between the house and the commune of Torbole over the ownership of two pieces of land in the commune's territory is dated to the beginning of the century. The dispute is arbitrated by Guidotto de Arcellis from Piacenza, a vicar of Berardo Maggi, bishop of Brescia. In 1300 Guidotto pronounced in favour of the Templar Order, ordering the commune of Torbole to designate which lands were to be returned to the Templars. Dodone, a consul of the commune of Torbole, then appointed four officials to implement the order and, the following year, another consul called Giacomino de Carzapanis, known as Nero, handed over the lands in question to Pagano, preceptor of Santa Maria del Tempio.⁶⁸⁵

Still in 1300 a dispute was settled with the commune of Ponteviso. Unfortunately, the records do not specify the exact terms of the dispute, but we know that the consul Algisio de Aliprandiis had appealed against the order made to the commune and men of Ponteviso to pay a sum of money to the Templars.⁶⁸⁶ Here too, the resolute sentence was declared by Guidotto de Arcellis, in his capacity as subdelegate of the archdeacon of Cremona, who was the papal delegate for questions regarding the Templar Order. He ruled that the Templars had to be paid the money and to be reimbursed for all the expenses incurred because of the dispute. The next year Guidotto had to reproach the authorities of Ponteviso for not having complied with his decisions.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸³ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁶⁸⁴ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 3, cassetta 33, notaio Rufino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

⁶⁸⁵ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, nos. 70, 81; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", docs. 4, 8, pp. 372, 373. For rurals communes in medieval Lombardy see Menant, *Campagnes lombardes*, pp. 487–559.

⁶⁸⁶ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 82; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 5, p. 373.

⁶⁸⁷ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 78; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 9, p. 374.

The Templar Order won both these cases thanks to the support of the church authorities, represented by Guidotto de Arcellis. The support given to the Order against two rural communes was in line with the policy of the bishop and lord of Brescia Berardo Maggi, who was diligently imposing the rule of Brescia over the *contado*, whilst at the same time protecting the prerogatives of religious bodies against lay organisations.⁶⁸⁸ Besides, Guidotto, here described as prior of San Pietro degli Olivetani in Brescia, was also from a lineage that was close to the Templars. He was later involved in the trial against the Order when he was present in Piacenza at the *purgationes* of some Templars in 1311.⁶⁸⁹

Also in 1300, a contract of emphyteusis was stipulated between preceptor Pagano and Michele and Giovannino, sons of the late Alberto da Magovico, known as Duro. The two sons were allocated some Templar possessions in Onzato Mella. These included woodland, meadows and cultivated land located *ad Fornaces*, *in Campagnola*, *ad Spinum*, *ad Cruicios*, *ad Stratam*, *ad Sanctam Mariam*, *ad Mutasnas*, *ad Medalociam*, *ad Bagnum*, *ad Braidam inferiorem*. In addition to the plots of land there was a *sedimen* with a house and some more fields situated in *villa di Onzato*, a wooded area in the *Malavisci* district, and three holdings located *ad Ceredum* and *ad Gazium* in Brescia. In the contract, the lessees were required not only to pay an annuity in kind but also to plant one hundred willows a year on the land, without uprooting or cutting down those already growing, although they were allowed to use the timber to improve their dwellings.⁶⁹⁰

Two deeds from 1304 and 1307 attest to the expansion of the Order's possessions in the Onzato area. In the former, *canavarius* Rizzardo bought three pieces of land in the districts known as *Campagnole*, *ad Closetos* and *ad Murassnam*.⁶⁹¹ In the latter, Pagano bought another plot, again in the district *ad Murassnam*.⁶⁹² Here, a plot of land close to a *domus mansionis* is mentioned, but we do not know whether this refers to a

⁶⁸⁸ G. Archetti, *Berardo Maggi, vescovo e signore di Brescia. Studi sulle istituzioni ecclesiastiche e sociali della Lombardia orientale tra XIII e XIV secolo* (Brescia, 1994), p. 426.

⁶⁸⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 361, pp. 603–604.

⁶⁹⁰ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, no. 5; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 6, p. 373.

⁶⁹¹ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, no. 6; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 12, p. 374.

⁶⁹² Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, no. 7; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 13, p. 375.

rural house of the Order or simply to more property belonging to Santa Maria del Tempio.

A further attestation to Templar possessions is provided by a deed from 1303 in which a plot of land in the *Pini* district of Brescia was leased to the Templars in a contract of emphyteusis.⁶⁹³

In 1301 Pagano, preceptor of the Templar *mansio*, rented some land to two brothers, Pietro and Giovanni.⁶⁹⁴ During this period (1302) a small legacy was also left to the Temple in the will of Petercino, son of the late Bonaventura Siamble.⁶⁹⁵ In July 1312, conversely, Francesca, daughter of the late Mafeo di Via Vetere di Gargano, known as Arcillus, explicitly excluded the Templars from the beneficiaries of her last will.⁶⁹⁶ This decision was related to the fact that the Templar Order had already been suppressed and the possibility of its possessions having been stolen and damaged in a previous period, as happened in other Templar houses, is not to be ruled out.⁶⁹⁷

After the end of the Order, the *mansio* passed to the Knights of St. John.⁶⁹⁸ Perhaps in 1333 (the date on the document is difficult to read), Alberto de Regentis, judge and consul of justice of Brescia, ruled that Girado de Pecalis, Zinelus of the late Bercelio and Pietro di Guido di Salvagnano, residents of Ponteviso, should choose two pieces of land in Ponteviso and Salvagnano, *quas fuerunt et sunt sancte domus Ospitalis [...] et fuerunt condam domus milicie Templi de Brixia* and hand them over to the preceptor of the *domus [Sancti] Johannis Ospitalis Yerosolimitani de Brixia*.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹³ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 80; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 11, p. 374.

⁶⁹⁴ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 86; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 7, p. 373. Unfortunately, the crops farmed on the Temple lands are not specified in the documents. For the mention of willow groves see above, Chapter II, p. 76.

⁶⁹⁵ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, S. Eufemia, busta 24, no. 283; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 10, p. 374.

⁶⁹⁶ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, busta 72, filza II, no. 19; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 14, p. 375.

⁶⁹⁷ For mentions of brethren from Brescia see below, Appendix III, nos. 1.9, 1.108, 1.109, 1.150.

⁶⁹⁸ Arena mistakenly asserted that Santa Maria actually belonged to the Knights of St. John. Arena, *Documenti*, I, pp. 96–98. The hospital of San Giovanni de Foris, whose documents are kept in the Archivio di Stato in Milan, was attributed to Hospital by both Arena (pp. 98–100) and Bascapè (Bascapè, “Le vie”, p. 27), but there is no proof of this in the records. Violante, “La Chiesa bresciana”, p. 1113; Mariella, *Alle origini degli Ospedali bresciani*, pp. 22–28.

⁶⁹⁹ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 85; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 16, p. 375.

The fact that a consul of justice had to intervene to ensure that land once belonging to the Templars was handed over to the Knights of St. John shows that the transfer of the property in the Brescia area was not without its difficulties. The inquiry and dissolution must have facilitated the land seizures, especially in places like Pontevico where the Templars had already had difficulties in getting their rights respected. To make matters worse, the Hospitallers' move into the Templar house was probably further complicated by the dispute with the *Paratico dei Fabbri*.

The presence of the Knights of St. John in Santa Maria del Tempio is also attested to by a document from 1364 in which Bonino da Vigevano, preceptor of the *mansio* once belonging to the Temple, rented out a *curia* in the *mansio* district.⁷⁰⁰ In 1373 *dominus* Fr. Maifredo de Becharia et de Papia of the Order of the Knights of St. John invested Bertello, son of Giovanni de Bagnochis with a piece of arable land in the *Carubii Malsani* district.⁷⁰¹ Unfortunately, the fragment of parchment on which the preceptor *domus et eglise sancte Marie [Mansi]onis civitatis Brixie que fuit condam Templariorum et nunc est Sancti Johannis [J]erosolomitani* invested two citizens of Brescia with some land, again in the *mansio* district, is not datable.⁷⁰²

Almost nothing now remains of the mediaeval building that housed first the Templars and then the Knights of St. John. Over the course of the centuries the church has encountered a series of vicissitudes,⁷⁰³ the last and most serious of these being an explosion in 1769 that damaged it considerably.⁷⁰⁴ After this the building, which previously took up the whole of the square that it now overlooks, was reduced to half its size. In 1797 the Hospitaller commendam was suppressed and in the following century the building was used as a warehouse, public stall and bus depot. All that remains of the modern Santa Maria del Tempio complex are the perimeter wall and the façade. The building now houses a shop.

⁷⁰⁰ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 88; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 17, p. 375.

⁷⁰¹ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 69; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 18, p. 376.

⁷⁰² Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, no. 75; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 15, p. 375.

⁷⁰³ Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", p. 363, note 25.

⁷⁰⁴ "Relazione sullo scoppio delle polveri a porta S. Nazaro (1796)", in *Cronache bresciane inedite dei secoli XV–XIX*, ed. P. Guerrini, 5 vols. (Brescia, 1922–1933), V, pp. 291–314.

CRIXANUS

Mansio

In September 1226 the marquis of Montferrat Boniface II was requested to swear an oath of loyalty to the commune of Asti with regard to the feud of Calliano. Asti's request was drafted *in posse Crixani de subtus mansionem Templi*.⁷⁰⁵ In 1288 the *canales moledini templi de pulenta*⁷⁰⁶ and the *canalem moledinj de pulenta, quod erat mansionis de Templo* were mentioned.⁷⁰⁷ The canal and mill belonging to the Temple stood between the villages of Grisana and Guardarabbio and were noted in the list of borders between Calliano, Guardarabbio and Castell'Alfero.

These mentions are the only references to the Templar house of *Crixanus* and, because of the lack of any further information, identifying this *mansio* is extremely difficult. There is a valley in this area called 'Valle del Tempo' and it has been argued that this is a deformation of 'Valle del Tempio'. Also, it has been claimed that the presence of a hill called 'Bricco dei Frati' could refer to the existence of a Templar house in the Middle Ages. The Knights of St. John still had some property in Grisana in the seventeenth century, but we do not know if this was of Templar origin.⁷⁰⁸

With such a lack of information, it is impossible to form any theories on the location of the house of *Crixanus*. All that we can note is that the area was crossed by a road heading towards the nearby village of Calliano, which followed the route of an earlier path. We do not know, though, whether the Templar house was connected to this road.⁷⁰⁹

CABRIOLO

Domus

In 1227, at a provincial chapter in Cabriolo, the investiture of two mills owned by the Milanese *mansio* on the river Lambro Grande to

⁷⁰⁵ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 742, p. 793.

⁷⁰⁶ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 754, p. 812.

⁷⁰⁷ *Codex Astensis*, III, doc. 754, pp. 812–814.

⁷⁰⁸ P.C. Bottino, "Un insediamento templare sulla direttrice Asti-Casale", in *Atti del XVII Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 2000), pp. 20–21.

⁷⁰⁹ Bottino, "Un insediamento", pp. 16, 19–20, 23.

the house of the Humiliati of Brera was ratified.⁷¹⁰ In this case it was probably also the central position of the Cabriolo house in the vast area of the province of Lombardy that lay behind the decision to hold the provincial assize there.

Further references to this house can be found in the *Rationes Decimarum* of Emilia. In June 1230 amongst the institutions that paid tithes in the diocese of Parma was the *ecclesia de Cacobrolo in plebe Burgi D. Donini*, entered as *sub Templo de ultramare*.⁷¹¹ There was an identical entry under the year 1299.⁷¹²

In 1244 the preceptor of this was Giacomo da Parma,⁷¹³ whereas in 1268 it was Gabriele.⁷¹⁴ According to a testimony given during the trial, one of his successors was Alberico da Albernasco, who was in charge of the house in around 1282.⁷¹⁵

The last preceptor noted in the sources is Giacomo Fontana, attested to in 1304.⁷¹⁶ During the trial (1308), he was assaulted and his house pillaged and burnt.⁷¹⁷ This act of violence was probably something to do with the quarrel between the supporters of Alberto Scotti and those of the Viscontis. Later Giacomo Fontana, who was an invalid for a year, was subject to a *purgatio canonica*.⁷¹⁸

This house was also acquired by the Knights of St. John after 1312. In 1324 it was run by Guglielmo de Paule.⁷¹⁹ Documents from the modern age tell us that its church was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁰ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, pp. 101–109.

⁷¹¹ *Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia*, no. 4482, p. 351.

⁷¹² *Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia*, no. 5320, p. 391.

⁷¹³ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

⁷¹⁴ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48.

⁷¹⁵ Bini, “Dei Temperi e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 470.

⁷¹⁶ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304; Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, pp. 34–35.

⁷¹⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 530.

⁷¹⁸ See above, Chapter V, pp. 194–195.

⁷¹⁹ For further mentions of this house see Luttrell, “The Hospitaler Priory”, pp. 116–117; Battioni, “Aspetti”, p. 428.

⁷²⁰ Cf. G. Ligato, “Penitenza, pellegrinaggio e crociata in nome di Tommaso Becket”, in Greci, ed., *Studi sull'Emilia occidentale*, pp. 153–154.

*SOLERUS**Domus*

The only attestation to this house is in the list of preceptors present at the provincial chapter of 1227, which includes Guglielmo de Turri, preceptor *de Solero*.⁷²¹

There are two places that could correspond to this place-name: Solero close to Alessandria and Solere near Savigliano. The Solero location can be hypothesised on the basis of the geographical order in which the names of the preceptors attending the 1227 assize are listed. The list of dignitaries starts with Giovanni di Alessandria, preceptor of Testona, followed by the preceptors of Murello, Villastellone, Chieri, and *Solerus*. The list continues with the preceptors of *Verzarius* (Torricella Verzate in the Oltrepo Pavese), Piacenza, Reggio Emilia and Bologna and then goes on to the Friuli and Veneto houses of San Quirino, *Campanea*, Montebello and Valeggio sul Mincio. According to this list, the house of *Solerus* should be between Chieri and the Oltrepo Pavese. This corresponds to the village of Solero.

Unfortunately, there are no subsequent attestations to this convent and so its exact location cannot be established. Given that the Knights of St. John had been in this area since the twelfth century,⁷²² it is not unlikely that local Templar properties here came into their possession after 1312.

TORRICELLA VERZATE

Mansio or *domus*

Church of Santa Maria del Verzario

The house of *Verzarius*, in the countryside around Pavia, appeared for the first time in the list of preceptors attending the provincial chapter of 1227 in Cabriolo.⁷²³ On this occasion it was represented by Guido da Parma. Then, in the list of dignitaries attending the provincial

⁷²¹ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

⁷²² Cosola, *Il Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta*, p. 23.

⁷²³ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

chapters of 1268 and 1271 Oliviero, *preceptor domus de Verzali*, appeared.⁷²⁴ Ten years later Bianco da Pigazzano was named as the preceptor of the house of *Verzarius* amongst others as already noted.⁷²⁵ In this case, the rural *domus* of Torricella Verzate was put on the same level as other important houses, which goes to prove that it was probably well established in the area. In all likelihood, this was also due to the fact that it was located on the road to Rome, between Voghera and Stradella.⁷²⁶

It has been said that this house was subordinate to the convent of Piacenza, but, in fact, the documentary evidence available to us indicates rather that it was an independently run house, with its own leader. It was only in the 1281 deed that it was described as being subordinate to a preceptor called on to manage other houses as well, whereas during the inquisitorial administration period it was run together with the house of Pavia. This has made it difficult to distinguish the revenue and expenditure figures of this convent from those of Pavia in the inquisitorial inventory. An explicit reference to *Verzarius* is made in relation to the timber belonging to a house near the local kiln.⁷²⁷ This convent also had property in Torricella Verzate⁷²⁸ and in a place called *Piscaroni*.⁷²⁹ It was noted amongst the list of products of the house that some wine had been stolen during the night by some men, described as “rebels to the office of the inquisitor”.⁷³⁰ The task of selling the remaining wine was given to a relative of the Templar preceptor, Siclerio. Half of the proceeds were to cover some of these expenses, and the other half was to go to the inquisitor, who, however, was unable to get him to hand them over.⁷³¹ Siclerio was arrested in the house that he was in charge of,⁷³² thanks to the intervention of no less than twenty-five armed men, and his upkeep expenses were diligently accounted for by the inquisitor. Another activity at *Verzarius* was horse-breeding, and some of the horses had been stolen too.⁷³³ In addition to these repeated thefts and acts of

⁷²⁴ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

⁷²⁵ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 3, cassetta 33, notaio Rufino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

⁷²⁶ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 124.

⁷²⁷ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 124; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 571.

⁷²⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 574.

⁷²⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 572.

⁷³⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 572–573.

⁷³¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 578.

⁷³² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 577.

⁷³³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 580.

vandalism, there was also the fact that some the woods belonging to the house had been destroyed.⁷³⁴ To help with the process of repossessing the seized Templar property, the offer was also made to the tenants to leave the rent previously agreed unchanged after the repossession of the land.⁷³⁵

Another reference to the house may come from the trial testimony of Lanfranco da Fiorenzuola who stated that he had been present at the admission of Giovanni da Pavia into the Temple, that had taken place in 1262 *in domo de Berzale*,⁷³⁶ possibly a distortion of *Verzarius*.

It is only thanks to documents from after the dissolution of the Temple that we are able to confirm that this house was named after Santa Maria. In the modern era it was subordinate to the Pavia commendam of San Guglielmo and San Damiano.⁷³⁷ Its chapel was dedicated to the Annunciation and stood on the road to Rome. According to the report of a Hospitaller prioral visit in 1787 it had a single nave and a simple ceiling of wooden planks.⁷³⁸ Hospitaller documents also state that there was a farmstead near Torricella Verzate known as “La Masone”, although we do not know whether it was of Templar origin.⁷³⁹

PACILIANO

(San Germano di Casale Monferrato)

Domus

The first attestation to this house can be found in a document from the Archivio capitolare of Casale Monferrato dated April 1228.⁷⁴⁰ In this document Opizzone, provost of Breme, in accordance with the orders of pope Gregory IX, summonses *dominus* Oberto Pocaparte and his sons to appear in Breme in relation to their dispute with the church of Casale Monferrato. The summons was drawn up *apud Pacilianum ad domum templi que est extra locum* and amongst the witnesses there were *frater Bonifacius preceptor domus sancti Guillelmi papiensis* and *frater Petrus*

⁷³⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 583.

⁷³⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 353, p. 590.

⁷³⁶ Bini, “Dei Temperi e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 491.

⁷³⁷ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 774.

⁷³⁸ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 777–778.

⁷³⁹ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 778.

⁷⁴⁰ Casiraghi, “Fondazioni templari”, p. 140, note 53.

preceptor domus templi de Paciliano.⁷⁴¹ The presence of the Templars in Paciliano is subsequently confirmed when they are listed amongst the owners of some plots of land.⁷⁴²

This scanty information attests to the existence of a previously unknown Templar house, independent from the nearby establishment in Casale Monferrato. What is also significant is the presence of the head of the house of Paciliano together with that of Pavia, which, thanks to this evidence, can be seen to be linked once more to the convents of the Piedmont area.

The fact that a Templar from Paciliano was present in the Chieri house in 1245 proves that the Order was recruiting in this place.⁷⁴³

The exact location of this Templar house cannot be found. The only information we have on this is in the 1228 document, in which it is stated that the *domus templi* is *extra locum*, i.e. outside of the built-up area of the village.

CERRO DI TOCCALMATTO

Domus

Church of San Giacomo

The *Rationes Decimarum* of Emilia attest to the fact that in 1230 and 1299 this house, named *ecclesia-domus de Cerro*⁷⁴⁴ and *San Jacobi de Cero*,⁷⁴⁵ had paid its tithe share. A further mention of the house is found in the list of participants at the provincial chapter of 1268, attended by Alberto, preceptor of Cerro, and the 1271 chapter, attended by his successor, Bonfilio.⁷⁴⁶ This house, according to Lanfranco di Fiorenzuola's trial testimony, had supposedly hosted a provincial chapter, although its date was not specified.⁷⁴⁷ As with the case for the Templar house in Cabriolo,

⁷⁴¹ *Le carte dell'archivio capitulare di Casale Monferrato*, doc. 136, p. 244.

⁷⁴² "Gli atti privati del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano relativi al luogo di Paciliano conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Milano (secc. XI-metà XIII)", ed. L. Fois, *Monferrato. Arte e Storia*, 13 (2001), doc. 27, p. 86, 14 (2002), doc. 43, pp. 88, 91.

⁷⁴³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

⁷⁴⁴ *Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia*, no. 4481, p. 351.

⁷⁴⁵ *Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia*, no. 5321, p. 391.

⁷⁴⁶ Trota ("L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52) has transcribed that they were in charge of the houses of *Creto* and *Cento*, whereas the deed actually reads *Cerro* and *Cero*.

⁷⁴⁷ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 492.

this site too, again near Fidenza, could well have been chosen because of its central position in the province of Lombardy.

The house of Cerro stood beside the river Rovacchia, located on a branch of the *via Aemilia*.⁷⁴⁸ Some of its possessions are listed in the inquisitorial inventories.⁷⁴⁹ At the time of the trial it was administered together with the house of Faenza. In an inventory from this period reference is made to the hospital of Cerro, but unfortunately we have no further information on this and we do not know whether hospitality was actually given there.⁷⁵⁰

The house became a commendam of the Knights of St. John after 1312,⁷⁵¹ and now appears as a large block of buildings with a small, single-nave chapel next to it. The chapel is now dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, but local tradition has it that it used to be named after St. Cornelius and St. Ciprianus. In the *Rationes Decimarum*, however, it is called San Giacomo. Again, according to local knowledge, the building was given its current dedication in modern times.⁷⁵²

CASALE MONFERRATO

Domus or *mansio*

Church of Santa Maria del Tempio

The first attestation to this house dates back to 1231 when some properties on the *via Templi* were mentioned.⁷⁵³ Usepio or Eusepio, *preceptor de Casali*, was noted as being present at the chapters in Piacenza in 1268 and 1271.⁷⁵⁴ In 1276 the Templar possessions *in circha Casalis* appeared on a list of lands adjacent to some property of the commune.⁷⁵⁵ The Templar house of Casale was outside the town walls not far from Frassineto sul Po, where there was a ferry crossing over the river.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁴⁸ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 181.

⁷⁴⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, p. 486.

⁷⁵⁰ Caravita, "Nuovi documenti", pp. 235, 270–271.

⁷⁵¹ For notes on modern-age material regarding this house see Luttrell, "The Hospitaller Priory", p. 117.

⁷⁵² D. Soresina, *Enciclopedia diocesana fidentina*, 4 vols. (Fidenza, 1974), p. 294. See also Battioni, "Aspetti", p. 429.

⁷⁵³ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Casale Monferrato*, I, doc. 192, p. 343.

⁷⁵⁴ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁷⁵⁵ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Casale Monferrato*, II, doc. 332, p. 135.

⁷⁵⁶ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 313.

A deed issued in 1310, during the trial, mentions Riccardo de Albaruxia, preceptor of the houses of Murello, Vercelli and Casale Santo Evasio (Casale Monferrato) in 1286.⁷⁵⁷

It has been hypothesised recently that the Templars brought the relics of Varus, a saint from the East, to Casale.⁷⁵⁸ There is an inscription in the ambulatory of the cathedral here that reads “QUALE/ARCA/DESAN/VAS”, which is commonly thought to mean that the relics of St. Evasius, the city’s patron saint, were stored here in the Middle Ages. It has recently been supposed that the last letter of the inscription, now almost completely deleted, was an “r”. In this case, the saint in question would be Varus and not Evasius.⁷⁵⁹ The cult of St. Varus was only widely known in the East during the Middle Ages.⁷⁶⁰ The presence of warrior-like figures in the mosaic and a slab in the cathedral ambulatory with the sculpture of what is presumed to be a Templar have been used to support the connection between the presence of this eastern saint in Casale and the Templars.⁷⁶¹

In truth, deciphering the last letter of the inscription is far from easy but it seems more likely to be the “x” of *Vax* (*Evaxius*). St. Varus plays no part in local traditions, whereas the cult of St. Evasius was firmly rooted in the city (hence the name *Casalis sancti Evasii* or *Evaxii*).⁷⁶² Also, the tombstone mentioned earlier is actually a bas-relief depicting a *miles*, with no distinctive markings making him recognisable as a Templar. Before its nineteenth century restoration, the slab used to be on the facade of the church, next to a female figure.⁷⁶³ So, there is neither definite proof that the relics of St. Varus were in Casale, nor of the Templars presumed role in bringing them here.

More information on the Templar presence in Casale Monferrato can be found in the trial records. On the 10th of January 1308 the inquisitor Ottone da Milano was already active in Casale, and had

⁷⁵⁷ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all’interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 7.

⁷⁵⁸ O. Musso, F. Santi, “Un documento del culto di san Varo e i Templari a Casale Monferrato”, *Hagiographica*, 2 (1995), pp. 177–186.

⁷⁵⁹ Musso, Santi, “Un documento”, pp. 180–181.

⁷⁶⁰ Musso, Santi, “Un documento”, pp. 177–179.

⁷⁶¹ Musso, Santi, “Un documento”, pp. 183–184.

⁷⁶² E. Pianea, “Il mosaico pavimentale romanico dell’antico duomo”, in *Il Duomo di Casale Monferrato. Storia, arte e vita liturgica*. Atti del convegno di Casale Monferrato, 16–18 aprile 1999 (Casale Monferrato, 2000), pp. 124, 125, fig. 6.

⁷⁶³ R. Arena, “Note sulla scultura romanica del duomo di Casale”, in *Il Duomo di Casale*, p. 116, note 1.

ordered Lunato Bazano and Ugo Garilio to bring the Templars Giovanni Bazano, Pietro Garilio and Manfredo de Vitreo to appear before the local *podestà*.⁷⁶⁴ On the basis of this evidence it is safe to assume that the summonsed Templars had taken refuge amongst their families. They were part of the elite of the commune, with the Bazzanos and Garilios being some of the most frequently represented families in the city magistrature.⁷⁶⁵ This information also highlights the fact that some Lombard members of the Order probably started abandoning their homes after the arrest of French Templars.⁷⁶⁶

While the trial was going on the *domus et mansio* was administered by Ottone da Milano himself.⁷⁶⁷ After 1312 it passed to the Knights of St. John, who were already present near Casale and in Morano, a place to the east of the town, close to Frassineto sul Po.⁷⁶⁸ At the end of the fifteenth century the former Templar church was assigned to Benvenuto di San Giorgio di Biandrate of the Knights of St. John, a writer with some historical works to his name.⁷⁶⁹ It was then destroyed in the seventeenth century, after having been damaged many times in the frequent sieges of Casale. Earlier, Santa Maria del Tempio had been given to the Franciscans, who had built a new convent next to it. According to the records of the Hospitaller prioral visits, the Templar *mansio* stood near Porta della Rocca, to the east of the built-up area, in a zone frequented by travellers and pilgrims. A street called ‘Vicolo dei Templari’ attests to the past presence of a community of the Order.⁷⁷⁰

Guglielmo de Garent, the Templar tried in Cyprus, was originally from Casale.⁷⁷¹ It has also been suggested a sergeant serving in Cyprus, Pietro Cadelli, was from this place.⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁴ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 34, pp. 265–266; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 64.

⁷⁶⁵ A. di Ricaldone, *Annali del Monferrato*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1972), p. 951.

⁷⁶⁶ In all likelihood the charter was written in *Casale S. Vaxii* and not in *casale S. Maximi* (as the edited text says). Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 65.

⁷⁶⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 342, pp. 556–558.

⁷⁶⁸ P. Cosola, “I possedimenti gerosolimitani nell’Alessandrino”, in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, p. 466; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 313–314.

⁷⁶⁹ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 315.

⁷⁷⁰ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 316.

⁷⁷¹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 174–175, 256; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 90.

⁷⁷² *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 141.

SAN NICCOLÒ

Domus or mansio

The earliest mention of this house is in a document dated 1244. In December of this year Alberto Siccamilica, abbot of the monastery of San Benedetto, entrusted Bosone, prior and *minister* of the church and hospital of San Niccolò di Trebbia, with the collection of tithes for some land on the other side of the river Trebbia. Some of this land lay beside the road leading to the river, in a place called *Casale*, not very far from the local Templar house. Another part of the land bordered on the Templar *mansio*.⁷⁷³ The house is mentioned again in the inquisitorial inventories, where it was pointed out that *in villa Sancti Nicolay, que combusta fuit, plures reddere debuerunt de possessionibus quas laborverant, sed destructi totaliter non potuerunt*.⁷⁷⁴ The exact location of this Templar house is not yet known, even though, according to local tradition, it is thought to have been close to a group of rural buildings in this zone.

MURELLO

Domus

In 1245 Fr. Porengera di Murello was present at the signing of an agreement between the Temple and the commune of Chieri that aimed to resolve the longstanding quarrel between the two parties over the sale of Gorra.⁷⁷⁵ Francesco Guasco di Bisio claims that, on a certain unspecified date, the noble Busca family made a sizeable donation to the Temple in the area of Murello. Unfortunately, we do not have any confirmation of this.⁷⁷⁶

The local Templar house was attested to for the first time in 1251, when Innocent IV informed the Grand Master of the Temple that he had forbidden the Master of Lombardy from handing over Murello and its estate to Asti.⁷⁷⁷ The position of this house made it particu-

⁷⁷³ S. Niccolò (Piacenza), Archivio parrocchiale, Atti privati, cassa 1, no. 1, 31st of December 1244. This deed was pointed out to me by Anna Riva, who kindly provided me with the text and gave me advice on research into this house.

⁷⁷⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533.

⁷⁷⁵ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, doc. 8, pp. 160–171.

⁷⁷⁶ Guasco di Bisio, *Dizionario*, III, p. 73.

⁷⁷⁷ *Chartarum tomus I*, doc. 951, cols. 1406–1407.

larly sought-after by the main political actors in the area. During this period the Savoy and the commune of Asti wanted to keep the nodal points on the road network in particular under their influence, and one of these was Murello. The willingness of the Lombard master, whose identity, unfortunately, was not specified, to release this house to Asti suggests that the Templars' sympathies lay in that direction. The pope, however, who sided with Thomas II of Savoy, was determined to prevent Asti from coming into possession of this house.⁷⁷⁸

There was another attestation to the house in 1266, when Federico de Bargiis, preceptor of the *domus Templi* of Murello, was present at the sale of a number of properties by the commune and men of Racconigi to the monastery of Casanova.⁷⁷⁹ This transaction was to provide the funds needed to build the walls of Racconigi and was backed by the marquis Tommaso I di Saluzzo. The Templar preceptor acting as witness to the transaction was probably a relative of Rufino de Bargiis, noted in the document as the castellan of Racconigi, who had been designated by the marquis of Saluzzo. Twenty years later a Templar named Federico de Bargiis was preceptor of the house of Asti.⁷⁸⁰ If this was the same person, then it could be assumed that he had been promoted in return for the services rendered in Murello. If he was a blood relative, then this mention confirms the lasting relationship between this family and the Temple.

In 1268 the preceptor of the house of Murello was Bosco, who attended the provincial chapter of the Order.⁷⁸¹

In 1272 the Angevin chancellery registers noted that Charles I of Anjou, at the time engaged in a victorious offensive in Piedmont, took this house under his protection and requested that the seneschal of Lombardy defend it and protect the brethren and men living there.⁷⁸² This is not only important confirmation of Charles' favourable attitude towards the Temple, but also further underlines the importance of this house, which probably held an interest for the king because of its location.⁷⁸³

In two unpublished documents there are references to the Templars of Murello dating back to the times of the trial and beyond. In the

⁷⁷⁸ Cognasso, *Il Piemonte*, p. 768ff.

⁷⁷⁹ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 430, p. 342.

⁷⁸⁰ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–194.

⁷⁸¹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁷⁸² *I registri della cancelleria angioina*, VIII, doc. 587, p. 209.

⁷⁸³ Cf. Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, pp. 34–35; Dunbabin, *Charles*, pp. 77–79.

first one, dated 26th of June 1308, Oddino di San Giorgio, preceptor of Murello, attested to the payment of a sum of money by Giovanni Ogerio di Savigliano, in exchange for which he was given a piece of land in a place called *Brayda Raye* as security. *Brayda Raye* was not very far from Murello on the road to *Rivarollia* (identifiable with a farmhouse currently there, named Rivarola). What is significant is that in June 1308, just before the issue of the *Faciens misericordiam*, the preceptor of Murello, a descendant of the noble Biandrate family, was still running the house in person.⁷⁸⁴

The second document was drawn up on the 18th of March 1310, and starts by restating the text of a previous charter, dated 1286, in which Riccardo de Albaruxia, preceptor of the houses of Murello, Vercelli and Casale Sant'Evasio and lieutenant of Guglielmo de Noves, declared that a plot of land in Murello in the district *ad Braydam de Laraya* was rented to the Temple as pasture by the monastery of Santa Maria di Caramagna. At the time of the trial, the Templars had not paid the rent for three years. As the Murello house was then under a different administration and not that of the Knights Templar, Margherita, abbess of the monastery of Carmagnana, had taken the initiative and had the land ploughed and sown with emmer.⁷⁸⁵

At the end of the trial the Murello house went to the Hospitallers, who had been in the area since the second half of the twelfth century,⁷⁸⁶ and it was most likely after this transfer that the dedication was changed to St. John. In the *cabrei* of the Order of Malta Murello is described as a large, well constructed house.⁷⁸⁷ Unfortunately, it cannot be ascertained which of the buildings referred to can be dated to the Templar period.

⁷⁸⁴ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 5.

⁷⁸⁵ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 7. For these charters see also B. Capone, "Due pergamene inedite della «domus de Murello»", in *Atti del VII Convegno di Ricerche Templari* (Turin, 1989), pp. 9–23.

⁷⁸⁶ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 637.

⁷⁸⁷ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 634.

MONDOVÌ

Domus

According to Amedeo Ponziglione, the first attestation to the Templar presence in this area is dated 1178 and consists of a donation made by Guglielmo di Morozzo, who gave *ad opus militie templi Domini Nostri Jesu Christi quod est trans mare* a house and its properties located *in Vico*. The purpose of the donation was to found a hospital *in dicto loco Vico cum jornatis XX terre aratorie in Bredulo prope castrum vetus et X in Caraxonio*.⁷⁸⁸ I have already shown in the introduction of this book that the attestation is definitely a forgery, by the renowned forger Francesco Giuseppe Meyranesio, which was then made known to Amedeo Ponziglione.⁷⁸⁹ Consequently, the next mention of the Templars in Mondovì dated 1216, again pointed out by Meyranesio, is probably a forgery too.⁷⁹⁰

The presence of the Templars and Hospitallers in Mondovì was certainly attested to later on in a measure taken by Innocent IV, who admonished the Templars, Hospitallers, Minors and Predicators in this area in 1247, and prohibited them from continuing to administer the sacraments in the town because it was under interdict.⁷⁹¹ What is significant is the fact that the local Templars, together with the other orders listed above, had chosen to side with the commune despite the threat of being censured by the pope. It should also be noted that at this time Mondovì was on the imperial side and was administered by a vicar of Frederick II.⁷⁹²

In 1283 the Templars of Mondovì were again admonished, this time by Martin IV, who forbade them from contesting with the Friars Minor over the entitlement to certain will bequests. The Order's privileges regarding the expropriation of will bequests for the poor (with no specified recipient), aid to the Holy Land, and compensation for thefts or usury, had already been a source of friction in other places. In this case, the protests of the Friars Minor seemed to be well-grounded, as they gained the support of the pope.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁸ Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 2, pp. 151–152.

⁷⁸⁹ See above, introduction, pp. 5–6.

⁷⁹⁰ Ponziglione, "Saggio", pp. 117–118.

⁷⁹¹ Potthast, no. 12724; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 515–516.

⁷⁹² Cognasso, *Storia di Torino*, p. 125 ff.; Guglielmotti, "Le origini", pp. 83–84.

⁷⁹³ In 1307 this document was shown to Rufino di San Martino, the vicar of the local

Unfortunately, with the evidence available to us, we are not able to establish the location of the Templar house and there is no proof of its transfer to the Knights of St. John. It is by no means certain that Giacomo de Monte Regali, Master of Hungary in 1290,⁷⁹⁴ came from here, as there are other places with the same name.⁷⁹⁵

TORTONA

Domus

Church and hospital of San Giacomo

Various references to a Templar presence in the area of Tortona were made in the course of the twelfth century,⁷⁹⁶ but the actual establishment of a house of the Order here only dates back to 1252 when the local bishop, Pietro, granted the hospital and church, located *extra Burgum Terdome heddificatum ad honorem Dei et Beati Jacobi*, with adjoining buildings and sources of income to the marquis Enrico di Ponzzone, preceptor of the Temple in Pavia *et a Papia superius*.⁷⁹⁷ In return the Templars had to pay an annuity and abide by all episcopal orders in the event of excommunication and interdict. The marquis Enrico also undertook to have the agreement ratified by the provincial master when he came to Lombardy. Thanks to this donation the Templars were able to establish themselves in Tortona. At the end of the twelfth century the Temple had attempted to acquire the house and estate of *Calventia* with the intention of joining it on to the house of Casei Gerola, probably the closest one to *Calventia*. This would seem to confirm the fact that the Order did not yet have a house in Tortona. Further, the fact that the bishop granted the hospital to the preceptor of Pavia confirms that there was no Templar house in Tortona.

bishop, by Ughetto di Avagliana from the convent of the Friars minor. Ponziglione, "Saggio", doc. 9, pp. 169–170; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 516–517.

⁷⁹⁴ Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatikai Levéltár (Diplomatics Archive), no. 40197, 1290; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus*, VII, pp. 114–115; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus. 1095–1301*, p. 16. Information kindly pointed out to me by Zsolt Hunyadi.

⁷⁹⁵ *Orbis latinus*, II, p. 610.

⁷⁹⁶ See above, p. 291 ff.

⁷⁹⁷ *Le carte dell'Archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, pp. 209–210; Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 706–707.

Two years later there was an attestation to Templar properties in the Valle Scrivia and in the diocese of Tortona.⁷⁹⁸ In 1268 Fr. Giacomino di Tortona took part in the provincial chapter held in Piacenza.⁷⁹⁹ The next time the Templar presence in this zone was mentioned was during the trial. The papal dispositions on the inquiry were published in Tortona on the 6th of January 1310.⁸⁰⁰ The house was previously administered by Filippo de Cumis, together with the convents of Pavia and Casei Gerola. In the inquisitorial inventory, drawn up in 1310, we learn the exact location of the house of Tortona which was *prope burgum civitatis Tardone, ubi dicitur in Burgo Richo*.⁸⁰¹ This is followed by the inventory of the ordinary items in the house, used on an everyday basis.⁸⁰²

The inquisitor had encountered a series of problems, to the point of stating that he had faced serious risks when carrying out his duties and had been threatened with death.⁸⁰³ It is worth noting that Rufino,⁸⁰⁴ his *nunci* and collector of rents and payments, was also preceptor of the Hospitaller house of Tortona, dedicated to Santa Croce and San Guglielmo. At this juncture in the research, this is only mention of the direct participation of the Hospitallers in the running of a Templar estate in North-west Italy, before the transfer of houses from one order to the other.⁸⁰⁵

The list of revenues for Tortona shows that the Order possessed a number of houses in the area (about forty). There are also rents received for plots of land (with vegetables and vines) and the sale of produce such as oats, hay and wine.⁸⁰⁶ One of the most frequently occurring names amongst the lessees is that of the Armellini family.⁸⁰⁷ A certain Ysaia Prestatrix (sic) is also listed amongst the tenants. A number of entries refer to the collection of a *pedagium* due to the Templar house, but we do not know whether this was simply a rental or a toll for passing through a certain point.⁸⁰⁸

⁷⁹⁸ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109.

⁷⁹⁹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁸⁰⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 338, pp. 543–544.

⁸⁰¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 545.

⁸⁰² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 546.

⁸⁰³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 546.

⁸⁰⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 339, p. 546, doc. 340, p. 547.

⁸⁰⁵ For the Hospitaller house in Tortona see Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 699–722.

⁸⁰⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 546–548.

⁸⁰⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 547.

⁸⁰⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 548.

Equally abounding with information is the report on the inquisitorial administration's list of expenditures. In this inventory there are also several clear references to the problems that occurred here. Of particular significance is the mention of a notary who was attacked and beaten when he came to Tortona to draw up some deeds and who had to remain in the town for eighteen days. It should also be noted that Giacomo, preceptor of the local Templar house, who had been captured and was being held in prison, had the protection of the commune of Tortona.⁸⁰⁹ It seems that he was the subject of negotiations and numerous expenses were incurred in meeting his needs.⁸¹⁰

The considerable size of the house's estate is further confirmed by the fact that the inquisitor had to spend a long time in the Tortona area, travelling around the nearby villages gathering information for drawing up the inventory of the Temple's possessions.⁸¹¹ Rufino too had to move frequently between Casei and Tortona, accompanied by a *famulus*, in order to complete his work.⁸¹²

In conclusion, the proceeds from the administration of the houses of Tortona and Casei made a healthy profit,⁸¹³ despite the numerous extra expenses and the difficulties in running the estate, showing that the Templars had had a consolidated, productive presence in the area. Unfortunately, there is no mention in the inquisitorial records of the hospital linked to the house and, on the basis of the very few surviving documents, it is impossible to ascertain whether it was still active. After the dissolution of the Temple, this house also went to the Hospitallers, and became part of the commendam of Santa Croce.⁸¹⁴ The fact that the preceptor of the local Hospitaller house was involved in the inquisitorial administration could well have aided his Order's acquisition of the Templar estate.

⁸⁰⁹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 551.

⁸¹⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 551–552.

⁸¹¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 551.

⁸¹² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 552–553.

⁸¹³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, p. 554.

⁸¹⁴ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, pp. 711–722; Goggi, *Per la storia*, pp. 289–291; Battioni, “Aspetti”, pp. 432–433.

VENTIMIGLIA

Domus

In the sale of Albenga in 1191 reference was made to some Templar property in the Ventimiglia area, although without specifying the characteristics and location of the possessions.⁸¹⁵ The first attestation to the local Templar house is found in documents of the notary Giovanni de Amaldulesio. A deed dated 1256 names the *Domus Templi* as one of the buildings on the *carraria sancti Michaelis*, i.e. the road by the church of San Michele (now Via Piemonte),⁸¹⁶ which carried on up to the Colle di Tenda pass.⁸¹⁷

In October 1257 there was a report of the wounding of Guglielmo da Voltri, a servant of the garrison of the *castrum Roche*.⁸¹⁸ The Templar Raimondo Galiana was accused of being the aggressor and was brought before the bishop of Ventimiglia, Azzone, who was asked to take him into custody. If Guglielmo da Voltri did not survive and Raimondo was found guilty of carrying out the attack, according to the civil authorities, he would have to be tried by the *podestà* of Genoa or the court of Ventimiglia. Raimondo, however, after pointing out his privileged status, refused to swear not to escape. Then the bishop declared that he would not take Raimondo into custody but that he would be prepared to carry out the sentence should his guilt be confirmed.⁸¹⁹ Unfortunately, no further details of this dispute and its protagonists have reached us. We do not know the reason for the attack on Guglielmo da Voltri either, or whether the Templar Raimondo Galiana really was responsible for it. Since Guglielmo was also forbidden from continuing to frequent the local taverns, it may have been that the Templar Raimondo also visited them regularly and that it was in these taverns where their argument erupted.

⁸¹⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 79.

⁸¹⁶ *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni de Amaldulesio dal 1256 al 1258*, doc. 163, p. 173; G. Palmero, *Ventimiglia medievale. Topografia ed insediamento urbano* (Genoa, 1994), p. 53, note 162, p. 87.

⁸¹⁷ Palmero, *Ventimiglia*, pp. 52–53; G. Palmero, “Le strutture ospitaliere intemelie nel basso medioevo. L’Ordine del Tempio ed altri fenomeni di religiosità assistenziale”, *Intemelion*, 6 (2000), p. 15.

⁸¹⁸ *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni de Amaldulesio dal 1256 al 1258*, doc. 68, pp. 67–68.

⁸¹⁹ *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni de Amaldulesio dal 1256 al 1258*, doc. 69, pp. 68–69; A.M. Boldrini, “Ventimiglia nel Duecento: il vescovo Azzo Visconti”, in *Momenti di storia e arte religiosa*, pp. 101–102.

The Templar presence in Ventimiglia was attested to again in 1263 when a *terra Templi* was mentioned, located near the church of San Michele and the city walls.⁸²⁰ The year after this, there was a mention of the *terra hospitalis Templi*, situated *ad Villam* in Ventimiglia,⁸²¹ which most likely referred to some property belonging to the Hospitallers and subordinate to the house of Nice.⁸²²

Finally, amongst the local Templars were included some members of the family of the counts of Ventimiglia, whose family tree, drawn by the Genoese annalist Iacopo Doria, shows that Oberto and Pietro Balbo, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century, belonged to this Order.⁸²³ Unfortunately, this cannot be confirmed by further attestations and it is only the authoritativeness of Doria that makes it worth mentioning.⁸²⁴

The fact that all the Templar possessions in the city of Ventimiglia were taken over by the bishop of Albenga in 1191 seems to contradict the fact that the Templars subsequently had a house here. It is however likely that just part of the Templar property in the Ventimiglia diocese belonged to the house of Albenga. Zerbolo, noted as the western perimeter of the zone belonging to San Calocero, is actually situated between Albenga and Ventimiglia. It could be possible, therefore, that there was already an independent Templar house in Ventimiglia in 1191 that was not involved in the sale. It cannot be ruled out that the house may have been established after 1191 as well. Unfortunately, we have no further news of the destiny of this convent, which did not seem to have been passed on to the Knights of St. John.⁸²⁵

⁸²⁰ *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni de Amaldulesio dal 1258 al 1264*, ed. L. Balletto, Collana storica di Fonti e Studi 44 (Genoa, 1985), doc. 569, p. 527; Palmero, *Ventimiglia*, p. 88.

⁸²¹ *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni de Amaldulesio dal 1258 al 1264*, doc. 613, p. 569. Rossi had already noted that the Templars had settled in Ventimiglia near San Michele, but without providing any documentary evidence. G. Rossi, *Storia della città di Ventimiglia dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Ventimiglia, 1903), p. 76, note 1; Palmero, *Ventimiglia*, p. 53, note 162.

⁸²² N. Coulet, "Les commanderies des Hospitaliers en Provence orientale dans l'enquête de 1338: la Croix et Nice", in Costa Restagno, ed., *Cavalieri di San Giovanni*, p. 164.

⁸²³ *I Libri iurium*, I, p. 91.

⁸²⁴ For Iacopo Doria and the Counts of Ventimiglia see respectively G. Petti Balbi, *Caffaro e la cronachistica genovese* (Genoa, 1982), pp. 68–82, 150–159; C.F. Savio, *I Conti di Ventimiglia* (Genoa, 1894), genealogy.

⁸²⁵ These had not actually established a house in the area.

OSIGLIA

Mansio or domus

In 1267 Bianco da Pigazzano sent Manfredo di Villanova, preceptor of Osiglia, to the bishop of Albenga to collect the rent owing to the Order for the house of San Calocero.⁸²⁶ In all probability, therefore, Osiglia was the nearest Templar convent to Albenga.

Property belonging to the Knights of St. John is also attested to here, which was rented out in 1283 by Giovanni di Montaldo, preceptor of the Hospitaller house of Savona. On the basis of this information, it has been wrongly claimed that the Templar house passed to the Hospitallers before 1283. In actual fact the document in question makes no mention of a Hospitaller convent and, in truth, it was the Hospitaller master of Savona who decided on the transaction and not the one from Osiglia. The Knights of St. John had just one house, San Giacomo, in this area, and it could be possible that this corresponded to the local Templar house, which came into their hands after 1312. In the centuries to follow, the house went through a slow decline, so much so that in a *cabreum* of the commendam of Savona we learn that in 1573 the church San Giacomo dei Ronchi in Osiglia did not even have the requisites to celebrate Mass.⁸²⁷

Over the course of the centuries the building was subject to a series of alterations and no features of the building are now recognisable as being from the Middle Ages.⁸²⁸

ALESSANDRIA

Domus

Church of Santa Margherita

Manfredo, *preceptor domus templi de Alexandria*, attended the provincial chapters in Piacenza in 1268 and 1271.⁸²⁹ The house he administered

⁸²⁶ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 99–101.

⁸²⁷ Tacchella, *I Cavalieri*, p. 199.

⁸²⁸ G. Balbis, *Val Bormida medievale. Momenti di una storia inedita* (Cengio, 1980), pp. 170–171; Cattaneo Mallone di Novi, *Gli Hospitalieri di San Giovanni*, p. 187; Cervini, “Architettura”, pp. 256–257.

⁸²⁹ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri”, pp. 48, 52.

was in Borgoglio, the quarter that was razed to the ground in the eighteenth century to make way for the citadel of Alessandria.⁸³⁰ The mediaeval *Statuta de viis Bergolii* make reference to the *domus Templi, illi de Templo* and a *via per quam itur ad Templum*.⁸³¹ The Templar church of Santa Margherita de Sterpono or Margaritota,⁸³² whose transfer to the Knights of St. John is confirmed in fourteenth and fifteenth century sources, was outside the town.⁸³³ Based on the testimony of local scholar Giuseppe Antonio Chenna,⁸³⁴ another two buildings located outside the city walls have been linked to the Temple by historians. One of these is a farm called ‘Masone’, standing a few kilometres out of built-up area on the road to Asti, and the other is a building known as ‘Torre del Tempio’, on the same road but a little further from the town. More proof of the presence of a Templar property in this area lies in the fact that the Hospitaller *cabrei* called it the ‘regione del Templario’.⁸³⁵ Avonto has hypothesised that the ‘Torre del Tempio’ may have been a suburban *mansio* for the shelter and care of pilgrims.⁸³⁶ It appears more likely, though, that the house was dedicated exclusively to farming. The ‘Masone’, on the other hand, was closer to a fairly busy road, but there is no evidence of it having been a hospital. It should also be noted that no medieval document attributes these two buildings, especially the ‘Masone’, to the Temple.

During the trial the inquisitor Filippo de Cumis made some arrests in Alessandria,⁸³⁷ which was not one of the houses under his administration, but was perhaps where some of the Templars he was looking for had ended up. The local Templar possessions went to the Hospitallers after 1312. The Hospitaller house too, attested to since 1271, was

⁸³⁰ Cosola, “I possedimenti”, pp. 460–461.

⁸³¹ *Codex Statutorum magnificae communitatis diocesis Alexandriae* (Alessandria, 1547), pp. 227, 233, 255; G.A. Chenna, *Del Vescovato, de’ Vescovi e delle chiese della città e diocesi di Alessandria*, 2 vols. (Alessandria, 1785), II, pp. 380–381; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 259–260; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 60; Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 32. For the medieval *Statuta* of Alexandria, see A. Lattes, “Alcuni capitoli inediti degli Statuti di Alessandria”, *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, III ser., 7 (1901), pp. 315–345; A. Tallone, “Un frammento antico, con capitoli inediti, degli Statuti di Alessandria”, *Rivista di storia, arte, archeologia della provincia di Alessandria*, 24 (1915), pp. 1–50.

⁸³² This name derives from the fact that the church probably stood in an uncultivated area, overgrown with bushes. Olivieri, *Dizionario*, p. 330.

⁸³³ Cosola, “I possedimenti”, p. 461.

⁸³⁴ Chenna, *Del Vescovato*, II, p. 380ff.

⁸³⁵ Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 269; Cosola, “I possedimenti”, p. 462.

⁸³⁶ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 61.

⁸³⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, p. 579.

situated in the district of Porta Borgolio and it is very likely that the Knights of St. John established themselves in Alessandria in parallel with the Templars.⁸³⁸

MONTESORDO DI CERMENATE

Domus

A document dated 1240, from the records of the commendam of Santa Maria and Santa Croce of Milan, makes reference to the hospital named after San Biagio, San Leonardo and Santa Margherita *de monte surdo prope locum de Cermenate*, without specifying which order it belonged to.⁸³⁹ In 1281 Bianco da Pigazzano was the preceptor of this house,⁸⁴⁰ and in 1291 a relative of his, Giacomo da Pigazzano, in his capacity of head of the houses of Milan and Montesordo, issued a receipt for rent paid on some property of the Order in Cermenate and Punzinate.⁸⁴¹

Whilst the 1240 deed makes no explicit reference to a hospital in Montesordo owned by the Temple, the presence of a local Templar house is clearly attested to in the 1281 and 1291 documents. In the statutes of Como, from the year 1280, there is a reference to the *fratres de Montesurdo*, and the hospital here was mentioned again in 1297.⁸⁴² A charter of the monastery of San Benedetto dell'Isola in Monte Altirone,⁸⁴³ dated 1280, mentions the *domus de Montesurdo* amongst the bodies owning properties bordering on the monastery estate, also noting the *fratres* and the hospital situated there as three distinct bodies.⁸⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the surviving documents contain no explicit mention of this hospital belonging to the Temple. It is possi-

⁸³⁸ Cosola, "I possedimenti", pp. 459–471. A number of Templar brothers were originally from this town. See below, Appendix III, nos. 1.42, 1.70, 1.72, 1.119, 1.120, 1.142, 1.145, 1. 244.

⁸³⁹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 76–78.

⁸⁴⁰ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 3, cassetta 33, notaio Rufino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on the 15th of February 1318).

⁸⁴¹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 81–82; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 4, p. 217. This place (Montesordo, near Fino Mornasco) is not to be confused with the place of the same name in the parish of Somma. Alessandro Colombo, for example, made this mistake. Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", pp. 81–82; Ombrelli, *Militia Templi*, p. 17.

⁸⁴² Ombrelli, *Militia Templi*, pp. 18–19.

⁸⁴³ On this monastery see IP, VI/I, pp. 413–414.

⁸⁴⁴ A copy of this deed is in Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AE XV 35, Ernes Bonomi, *Diplomatum aliorumque ex membranis monumentorum ad caenobia Sancti Benedicti et Sancte Marie Aquefrigide nec non sancti Faustini parthenonem prope Larium existentia olim*

ble that the Templars took over the running of this hospital, but there is also no reason to think that it could not have been a separate institution, independent from the local Templar house, and that the deed from the Templar records was simply a *munimen*, referring not to the management of the hospital being taken over but simply to a change of ownership of some of its possessions acquired by the Templars. Unfortunately, the terms used to describe the house of Cermenate in the 1291 document are of no help here. The document talks of a *domus de Montesurdo de Cumis* (once), a *domus de Montesurdo et de Templo* (six times) and a *domus de Montesurdo sive de Templo* (once), and there is also a single reference to the houses *de Montesurdo et de Templo*.⁸⁴⁵ This could mean that the house was made of two units, but this is a mere supposition.

The trial records mention the *Inquisitor Cumarum* but nothing is known about his role in the inquiry.⁸⁴⁶

After the dissolution of the Order the house of Cermenate too probably came into the hands of the Knights of St. John. Unfortunately, modern records throw no light on the question of the actual characteristics of this convent. A deed from 1502 attests to the presence of a church and a hospital on this spot.⁸⁴⁷ These could have been inherited by the Hospitallers after the dissolution of the Temple, but it is not to be ruled out that the hospital could have been founded by the Knights of St. John as well.⁸⁴⁸

GUSANO

Domus

This house lies outside the immediate area of study, but is still mentioned here briefly because the only surviving reference to it that has reached us so far is in the Piacenza records and, having escaped the attention of scholars, no study has been made of it yet. At present this

pertinentium transumpta exempla multiplici indice ac notis illustrata a Don Hermete Bonomi monacho et sacerdote. Volumen tertium ab anno MCCLVIII ad annum MCCC, fols. 663^v–664^r.

⁸⁴⁵ The words “preceptor domorum milicie Templi et Misericordie” were used in 1286 with regard to the master of the Order’s house in Piacenza, made up of an original Templar house and a hospital, acquired later on. Zaninoni, “La *Domus*”, p. 466.

⁸⁴⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 529.

⁸⁴⁷ Ombrelli, *Militia Templi*, p. 19.

⁸⁴⁸ For the modern history and structure of the house see Ombrelli, *Militia Templi*, pp. 20–21.

house is only known to have been attested to in one document, regarding the appointment of Raimondo Fontana as rector of Sant'Egidio della Misericordia which was issued on an unspecified date at the beginning of the fourteenth century. According to this deed the Templar Opizzo de Ripa, rector and *minister* of Gusano, described also as a brother from Sant'Egidio della Misericordia, was involved in Raimondo's election procedure.⁸⁴⁹

COTREBBIA

Domus

The Templar presence here is attested to in the trial documents. On the 24th of August 1308 the inquisitor, Guglielmo Cigala da Genoa, confiscated the Templar property and house close to the river Trebbia. The house had by then already been completely stripped. Its estate was made up of plots of cultivated land and a number of small rural buildings located *citra et ultra Trebbiam*.⁸⁵⁰ The inquisitor went there several times,⁸⁵¹ checking that the vintage and harvest were proceeding normally.⁸⁵²

After 1312 this house was also taken over by the Knights of St. John. According to the Hospitaller *cabrei* there was a vast area here known as 'Il Tempio'.⁸⁵³ All there is here now is an old, derelict group of farm buildings,⁸⁵⁴ situated not far from a construction known as the 'Mulino dei Frati'. There are also two local farmhouses called 'Tempio di Sotto' and 'Tempio di Sopra', further reminders of the presence of the Military Order in the zone.⁸⁵⁵ It remains uncertain as to whether this house was run independently or was subordinate to Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza.

⁸⁴⁹ The deed, undated, is transcribed in the cartulary of the notary Egidio Croso, which contains documents drafted between 1307 and 1309. Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307-1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v-20^r.

⁸⁵⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 530.

⁸⁵¹ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 525-528.

⁸⁵² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 530-531.

⁸⁵³ Clemente, *I beni*, pp. 148-150.

⁸⁵⁴ It has been asserted that the Templars took over a Benedictine monastery here. In actual fact this transaction is not attested to in any documents. Serena, "I Templari", pp. 57-60.

⁸⁵⁵ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 184.

CASTELNUOVO BOCCA D'ADDA

Domus

The only mention of this house is in the inquisitorial inventories. On the 25th of August 1308 Giacomo da Montedonico, vicar of the inquisitor Guglielmo Cigala, took possession of all the Templar properties in *Castro novo ultra padum*. When the vicar arrived at the Templar house it was already completely stripped.⁸⁵⁶

According to an initial estimate, this house's property was worth twelve imperial *lire*.⁸⁵⁷ Although these mentions are few and rather general, they do note a rural complex that would otherwise have remained unknown. We do not know in this case whether the house had its own preceptor or was under the control of the convent of Piacenza.

⁸⁵⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 318, pp. 485–486.

⁸⁵⁷ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533.

UNCONFIRMED HOUSES

SAVONA

The *Templum Domini* is mentioned in number of wills of Savona citizens between 1179 and 1181, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were referring to a local Templar house, the Order in general, or the canons regular in charge of the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock) in Jerusalem.¹ Only one will contains a reference to the *Templum* that could be the Military Order.² The Hospital is also noted in these donations, which did have some property in the area at that time, but no actual settlement.³ In 1286 Giacomo Carraccia from Savona was *confrater syndicus et procurator domus Militie Templi*.⁴ Although these data infer a connection between the Temple and Savona, no actual confirmation of the existence of a local house has been found.⁵

BUSCA

Domus

The only mention of this house is in the works of the Ponzigiones, who make reference to a document drafted in July 1196 *in domo Militie*

¹ *Il Cartulario di Arnaldo Cumano*, part II, doc. 484, p. 242, doc. 501, p. 251, doc. 545, p. 282, doc. 880, p. 459.

² *Il Cartulario di Arnaldo Cumano*, part II, doc. 546, p. 283.

³ V. Polonio, "La Chiesa savonese nel XII secolo", in *Savona nel XII secolo e la formazione del comune (1191-1991)*. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Savona, 26 ottobre 1991, *Bollettino Storico Savonese*, n.s., 30 (1994), p. 92, note 67, reprinted in V. Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesistiche*, pp. 255-287.

⁴ *Documenti capitolari*, doc. 398, pp. 184-185, doc. 614, p. 297.

⁵ For relations between Savona, the Latin East and the Military Orders see S. Origone, "Commercio marittimo nella Savona del XII secolo", in *Savona nel XII secolo*, pp. 51-61; E. Bellomo, "A neglected Source for the History of the Hospital: The Letter of Master Jobert (1171/72-1177) to the Citizens of Savona", forthcoming.

Templi de Busca.⁶ The deed in question is said to have stipulated a some agreements between Berengario, the marquis of Busca, and the local commune. A number of Templars are said to have been amongst the witnesses: Poncio, Uberto, Ugo and Antonio. Doubt has been cast on the existence of this house, however, especially since the document may have been a forgery of aforementioned forger Francesco Giuseppe Meyrancesio.⁷

NIZZA MONFERRATO

Domus

The only attestation to a possible Templar presence here is in the list of preceptors attending the provincial chapter of 1271. Rufino, *preceptor domus Templi de Niza*, is mentioned as amongst those present⁸ and, as in the case of the preceptorship of *Solerus*, it is the geographical order in which the names of the dignitaries are listed that leads us to believe that the *Niza* referred is not the modern-day Nice⁹ but rather a Piedmontese house. It should be pointed out though that this geographical order is not strictly kept, given that the list begins with the preceptorship of Asti and then goes on to the *Marchia Trivixana*. However, these two entries may have been at the start of the list because of the importance of the preceptors of Asti and the district of Veneto. The document then goes on to list the more or less adjacent houses one after the other. The fact that the house of Nizza is listed between Acqui and Casale Monferrato could mean that it was in the district of Monferrato rather than the coastal area. Moreover, the presence of the preceptor of Nice at the Lombard provincial chapter would have been unlikely as this house was more closely linked to the Provençal convents of the Order than the Italian ones.

⁶ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 114; Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 32.

⁷ Nada Patrone, "I centri", p. 658.

⁸ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52.

⁹ For this house see J.A. Durbec, "Les Templiers dans les Alpes-Maritimes", *Nice Historique*, 40 (1937), pp. 65–70, 97–108, 138–146, 161–166, 41 (1938), pp. 3–10, 48–60; J.A. Durbec, "Introduction à une liste des biens du Temple saisis en 1308 dans la région des Alpes-Maritimes", *Nice Historique*, 54 (1951), pp. 45–52; J.A. Durbec, "Les Templiers en Provence. Formation des Commanderies et répartition géographique de leurs biens", *Provence Historique*, 9 (1959), pp. 107–116 and, in particular, pp. 115–116.

On the basis of this assumption, the presumed Templar house has been linked to the church of San Bartolomeo, which was part of the local Hospitaller commendam, but which was not attested to earlier than the fourteenth century and which seems to have belonged to the Hospitallers from the moment it was founded.¹⁰ Unfortunately, all that remains of this building, situated where Via Pistone lies now, are a few ruins of what was destroyed in the second half of the nineteenth century. A Templar known as Lanfranco da Fiorenzuola testified that he was admitted into the Order in *Berzale* (probably Torricella Verzate) together with a Templar from *Niza* called Guglielmo.¹¹

CAVALLERMAGGIORE

According to Ricaldone the Templars had owned a large amount of property here, which then went to form the nucleus of the Hospitaller commendam of San Giovanni della Motta.¹² Ricaldone's assumption is based on a deed, written in 1331, that divided some property between the cathedral chapter of Turin and the Hospitallers.¹³ In actual fact the document does not mention the Temple and the only reference it makes to Cavallermaggiore concerns the church of San Bartolomeo, without specifying whether it once belonged to the Military Order. Ricaldone's error is traceable to a traditionally held belief that the Templars had taken up residence in the tower next to San Bartolomeo.¹⁴ The church of Santa Maria della Pieve in Cavallermaggiore has also been linked to the Templar presence, although there is no documentary evidence for this.¹⁵ And so, the possible existence of a Templar house is based only on local hearsay, a favourable geographical position, and the links this area had with the Busca family.

¹⁰ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 560.

¹¹ Bini, "Dei Templieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491. We do not know whether this Templar brother was from Piedmont or France.

¹² Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 358.

¹³ *Le carte dell'Archivio del Duomo di Torino*, doc. 52, p. 220.

¹⁴ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 40.

¹⁵ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 41.

TENDA

The existence of a Templar house here is apparently attested to in a deed dated 1337, in which Dragomanno, abbot of the monastery of San Dalmazzo del Borgo, rented out some property bordering on lands *que fuerunt Militie Templi*.¹⁶ This document is only mentioned by the Ponzigliones and as such cannot be taken as reliable.¹⁷ Note that, in any case, the parchment refers only to property owned by the Templars and not a house.

VALMALA

Church of San Giovanni
(Hospitaller dedication)

It is only local hearsay that implies that there had been a Templar establishment here, linked to the Busca family and subsequently taken over by the Hospitallers.¹⁸ A memorial stone on the front of the church of San Giovanni, inscribed in the nineteenth century, states the traditionally held belief that this church was founded by the Templars.¹⁹

PINEROLO

Domus

The only mention of this house is in a document dated 1248, noted by the Ponzigliones. In the deed, Ardizzone, abbot of Santa Maria del Verano, rented out some property situated *prope et extra castrum loci Pinerolii* and bordering on the *domus Templi dicti loci Pinerolii*.²⁰ The position of Pinerolo in the local road network does support the likelihood of the Templars having had a house here. According to this attestation, the property invested by the abbot of Santa Maria del Verano also bor-

¹⁶ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 112; Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 32.

¹⁷ Ricaldone, Avonto and Nada Patrone maintain that this house definitely existed. Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 518; Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 79–80; Nada Patrone, "I centri", p. 682.

¹⁸ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 89–90; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, p. 361.

¹⁹ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, p. 25.

²⁰ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 119; Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 36; A. Caffaro, *Notizie e documenti della Chiesa pinerolese*, 4 vols. (Pinerolo, 1899), IV, p. 205.

dered on the church of the Friars Minor.²¹ If the document really refers to a Templar house and not just some of its property, then this description locates it outside the city walls, in what is now Via Principi d'Acaja, near where the church of San Francesco used to be. As we are unable to check on the authenticity of the deed quoted by the Ponzigliones, the existence of this house must be considered as uncertain.

DEMONTE

Domus

A document dated 14th of July 1216, again mentioned by the Ponzigliones, notes that one of the properties that bordered a house for sale in Demonte belonged to the Temple. One of the witnesses to the sale was the Templar Ugo.²² Unfortunately, there are no further attestations to a Templar presence here and Amedeo Ponziglione may have got his information from a forged parchment.²³ In any case, this charter only refers to Templar property and not an actual house.

CUNEO

Domus

The only document referring to a Templar presence here is also one noted by the Ponzigliones. In 1200 Ugo, abbot of San Dalmazzo del Borgo, sold some property bordering on the *domus fratrum de Templo de Cuneo*.²⁴ This is the only attestation to the Temple in this area, and without the original document it is impossible to say anything about its authenticity.

²¹ Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, pp. 23–24.

²² Ponziglione, “Saggio”, pp. 113–114; Ferrero di Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 32.

²³ Ricaldone (*Templari*, II, p. 518) makes no reference to the fact that this attestation may have been a forgery. Nada Patrone, Avonto and Capone remain doubtful over the reliability of this information. Nada Patrone, “I centri”, p. 686; Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 81; Capone Ferrari, *Quando in Italia*, pp. 21–22.

²⁴ Ponziglione, “Saggio”, pp. 112–113; Ferrero di Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 32.

MANDELLO LARIO

Domus

In the will of Adamo del Gadio, drawn up on an unspecified date but of which there is a copy (datable to the mid-fifteenth century) kept in the Archivio di Stato in Milan together with some documents on Mandello, mention is made of some property situated *ad domus del Tempio*.²⁵ Based on the assumption that this phrase referred to a Templar house, it has been thought that the Order had established itself in the local church of Santa Maria sopra Olcio.²⁶ In truth, this church and its hospital were founded before the Templar Order existed and there is no document to prove that they were then taken over by the Temple. The first attestation to Santa Maria sopra Olcio is the granting of papal protection by Eugene III in 1145. Benedict XII too, in 1335, confirmed the privileges of this church.²⁷ Unfortunately, none of these documents states to whom the church belonged and it is only from the fourteenth century onwards that the presence of Benedictine monks here is definitely attested to.²⁸ Local tradition has it, however, that the Templars were actually in this village, probably in a building adjacent to Santa Maria.²⁹

CASTELL'ARQUATO

A number of Templars originated from Castell'Arquato. A deed drawn up in Lucca in 1274 mentions Emanuele Obici de Bobio di Castell'Arquato and Giovanni di Castell'Arquato, head of the district of *Tuscia*

²⁵ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Comuni, cartella 42. Fabio Ombrelli wrongly transcribed *Tempio* as the charter reads *Tempo*. F. Ombrelli, "Lombardia: templari e pellegrini sulla riva orientale del lago di Lecco", in *Atti del XV Convegno di Ricerche Templari*, p. 89.

²⁶ Ombrelli, "Lombardia", pp. 90–95.

²⁷ G. Peduzzi, *Cenni storici intorno al paese di Somana ed al Santuario di S. Maria di Olcio sopra Mandello del Lario* (Mandello del Lario, 1931), pp. 33–36; V. Zucchi, *Oppidum Mandelli* (Lecco, 1931), p. 289.

²⁸ Thanks to E. Canobbio for helping me to find secondary sources regarding this church.

²⁹ *Atti della visita pastorale diocesana di F. Feliciano Niguarda, vescovo di Como (1589–1593)*, ed. S. Monti, 2 vols. (Como, 1892–1898, repr. 1903, 1992), p. 117, note 3.

et *Terra Rome*.³⁰ From 1302–1304 another Giovanni di Castell'Arquato was preceptor of the house of *Campanea* and lieutenant for the March of Treviso.³¹ Alberto di Castell'Arquato was preceptor of Castellaraldo under the mastership of Ugucione di Vercelli, and Pietro di Castell'arquato is mentioned in the Tuscany trial records.³² The Order's possessions in this area are listed in the trial inventories³³ and there was a servant of the inquisitor here.³⁴ In 1310 a mention is also made of a *conversa* owning property in Castell'Arquato.³⁵ These attestations point to the possibility of a Templar house here. It was not until 1359, however, that the existence of a Hospitaller *domus* was attested to, associated to Sant'Egidio della Misericordia in Piacenza and the house of Fiorenzuola, both of Templar origin.³⁶ This could also imply that this house was originally Templar.

AMALLONIS

According to a papal document dated November 1180, confirming the privileges of the Military Order of Mountjoy, this Order had some property in Lombardy, at *Pontem de Amallone*, which had been donated by William V of Montferrat.³⁷ When Mountjoy, already united with the Hospital of the Holy Redimeer, eventually merged with the Temple (1196), it may well have been that this property too was acquired by the Templars. There used to be a Hospitaller church next to the river Mallone called *S. Johannes de Amallone*, attested to only once in 1368.³⁸ Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing whether this was built on the land of the Order of Mountjoy or whether it previously belonged

³⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 8, p. 458.

³¹ Cagnin, *Templari*, docs. 7a–b, pp. 86–87; Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 474, 478.

³² *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 193; Bramato, *Storia*, I, p. 93 and, in particular, note 126; Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

³³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 524.

³⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 528.

³⁵ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 532.

³⁶ This deed mentions Pietro de Canellis, preceptor of Sant'Egidio, Castell'arquato and Fiorenzuola. Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Bongiovanni Stanforte (1349–1371), protocollo 1, busta 211, fols. 93^v–94^r.

³⁷ *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, I, doc. 125, p. 317; Forey, "The Order of Mountjoy", p. 254.

³⁸ *Rationes Decimarum. Lombardia et Pedemontium*, no. 1954, p. 347.

to the Temple.³⁹ The church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is said to have been destroyed by a flooding of the Mallone in the seventeenth century.⁴⁰

FOSSANO

Domus

In a deed from 1231 a plot of land is mentioned as being part of an exchange, and in the list of the lands bordering on this plot a *domus Milicie Templi* is mentioned. Also, one of the witnesses referred to in this charter was the Templar Anselmo. Unfortunately, these mentions are very general and we do not know whether the former means the possessions of a *domus Templi* actually located in Fossano, the domus itself, or property of another nearby Templar convent. Moreover, this deed is noted only by the Ponzigliones and its authenticity must thus be doubted.⁴¹

The group of buildings known as Fossano was first attested to in 1222 and the walled village dates back to 1236.⁴² The fact that Manfredi Lancia, a descendent of a family linked to the Temple, gave his assent to the foundation of this settlement could give a certain credibility to the aforementioned deed.

Actually locating a *domus Templi* in Fossano, though, is very hard. Local tradition identifies it as the church of Santa Maria del Salice,⁴³ but this church belonged to the Hospitallers. Already in 1169 a Hospitaller brother, who came from this house and was named *sacerdos Salicis*, was attested to.⁴⁴ Then, in 1273 a dispute over parish boundaries was settled between the Knights of St. John of Fossano and the church of Santa Maria and San Giovenale.⁴⁵

The deed quoted by the Ponzigliones also mentions the church of Santa Maria and San Giovenale in the list of the lands bordering

³⁹ Cf. Bellomo, "Fulfilling a Mediterranean Vocation", forthcoming.

⁴⁰ Spegis, *Presenza gerosolimitana*, pp. 20–21.

⁴¹ Ponziglione, "Saggio", pp. 114–115; Ferrero di Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 34; *Il Libro verde del Comune di Fossano e altri documenti fossanesi (984–1314)*, ed. G. Salsotto, BSSS 38 (Pinerolo, 1909), p. 5.

⁴² Quaglia, "La fondazione di Fossano", pp. 249–266.

⁴³ G. Muratori, *Memorie storiche della città di Fossano* (Turin, 1787), p. 53.

⁴⁴ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Asti*, doc. 43, p. 42.

⁴⁵ *Il Libro verde*, doc. 106, pp. 137–139.

on the exchanged plot. This means that property belonging to this church and Templar possessions were in the same area, or, in case these mentions refer to the actual buildings of the church and the Templar house of Fossano, that the latter was close to Santa Maria and San Giovenale. Given that the 1273 dispute also attests to the closeness of this church to the Hospitaller house, the convents of both Military Orders could have been in the same area. During a prioral visit in 1687 a note was made of a small church known as “Madonna dei Campi”, situated not too far from the buildings of the commendam.⁴⁶ The characteristics of the building seem to correspond to the seventeenth-eighteenth century descriptions of other churches of Templar origin. Unfortunately, its identification as part of the local *domus Templi* remains purely hypothetical.

⁴⁶ Ricaldone, *Templari*, II, p. 462.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF HOUSES THAT DEFINITELY EXISTED
(ORDERED BY DATE OF ATTESTATION)

<i>Year of the first mention of houses or possessions</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Type of house</i>	<i>Dedication</i>
1142	Milan	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Maria del Tempio
1143	Albenga	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	San Calocero de Campora or de pratis
1145	Vercelli	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	San Giacomo d'Albareto
1145	Bergamo	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Maria del Tempio
1150–1175	<i>Villa Mausonii</i>		
1157	Chieri	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	San Leonardo
1161	Genoa	<i>Domus</i> and church	Santa Fede
1164		<i>Domus</i> and church	Sant'Apollinare
1164	Ruspaglia	<i>Domus</i> and church	Santa Maria
1164	Mezzano Chiantolo	Church	
1165	Cremona	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	
1172	Piacenza	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> , two churches and one or two hospitals	Santa Maria del Tempio, Sant'Egidio della Misericordia
1177	Casei Gerola	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	San Pietro
1179	Ivrea	<i>Domus</i> and church	San Nazaro
1186	Acqui	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Margherita del Tempio
c. 1196	Testona-Moncalieri	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> , church and hospital	Sant'Egidio
1200	Alba	<i>Domus</i> and church	Santa Maria del Tempio

<i>Year of the first mention of houses or possessions</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Type of house</i>	<i>Dedication</i>
1201	Pavia	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> (San Guglielmo), two churches and one hospital	San Guglielmo, Sant'Eustachio de Verzario, San Damiano in Linarolo
1203	Asti	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Maria del Tempio
1203	Gorra-Villastellone	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and two churches	San Martino, San Giovanni Battista (Hospitaller dedication)
1203	Turin	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Margherita
1204	Susa	<i>Domus</i>	
1208	Livorno Ferraris	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Maria di Isana
1211	Fiorenzuola d'Arda	<i>Domus</i> and church	Santa Margherita del Tempio
After 1215	<i>Calventia</i>	<i>Domus</i>	Santa Maria?
1217	Savigliano	<i>Domus</i>	
1222	Novara	One or two <i>mansiones / domus</i> and churches	Santa Maria/San Guglielmo
1222	Brescia	<i>Mansio</i> and church	Santa Maria del Tempio
1226	<i>Crixanus</i>	<i>Mansio</i>	
1227	Cabriolo	<i>Domus</i>	
1227	<i>Solerus</i>	<i>Domus</i>	
1227	Torricella Verzate	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Maria del Verzario
1228	Paciliano	<i>Domus</i>	
1230	Cerro di Toccalmatto	<i>Domus</i> and church	San Giacomo
1240	Casale Monferrato	<i>Mansio/ domus</i> and church	Santa Maria del Tempio
1244	San Niccolò (Piacenza)	<i>Mansio/ domus</i>	
1245	Murello	<i>Domus</i>	
1247	Mondovì	<i>Domus</i>	

*Year of the first
mention of houses
or possessions*

<i>Year of the first mention of houses or possessions</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Type of house</i>	<i>Dedication</i>
1252	Tortona	<i>Domus</i> , church and hospital	San Giacomo
1256	Ventimiglia	<i>Domus</i>	
1267	Osiglia	<i>Mansio / domus</i>	San Giacomo (?)
1268	Alessandria	<i>Domus</i> and church	Santa Margherita
1281	Montesordo di Cermenate	<i>Domus</i> and hospital (?)	
c. 1307	Gusano	<i>Domus</i>	
1310	Castelnuovo Bocca d'Adda	<i>Domus</i>	
1310	Cotrebbia	<i>Domus</i>	

APPENDIX II

PROSOPOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE 1:
 TEMPLAR MASTERS OF LOMBARDY AND
 ITALY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)¹

- 1 Bonifacio: *Lombardie preceptor* (1167),² *de rebus Templi in Italia magister et procurator* (1167),³ *magister militie templi in Lombardia* (1169).⁴
- 2 Roboaldo di Moncalvo: *magister omnium mansionum Templi Ierosolimitani in Italia* (1179).⁵
- 3 Alberico: *magister Hierosolimitani Templi in Italia* (1190).⁶
- 4 Gaimardo or Gaimando: *magister Marchie et Lombardie* (1190),⁷ *omnium mansionum Templi in Italia preceptor* (1191).⁸
- 5 B.: *magister Lombardie* (1200).⁹ He's identifiable as Barozio (no. 6).
- 6 Barozio: master of the Templars (1201),¹⁰ *in Lombardia domorum Templi magister* (1204),¹¹ master of the Temple in Italy (1205).¹²
- 7 Aimerico de Saliis: *domorum militie Templi in Ytalia humilis preceptor* (1203).¹³
- 8 Giovanni Lombardo: *domorum Militie Templi in Ytalia preceptor sive secundum vocabula Lombardorum magister* (1222).¹⁴ He is perhaps identifiable as Giovanni, *magister Templariorum Rome, Tuscie et Sardinie* in 1218.¹⁵
- 9 Guglielmo da Melzo: *maior magister mansionum Templi tocius Ytalie, domorum militie templi in Lombardia preceptor et minister* (1227).¹⁶
- 10 Gerardo: *Militie Templi in Italia magister* (1231).¹⁷

¹ For each dignity the appointment and the dates for which it is documented are noted.

² Grauert, "Eine Tempelherrenurkunde", pp. 294–295.

³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 48.

⁴ Tiraboschi, *Memorie*, III, doc. 446, p. 54.

⁵ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, I, doc. 15, p. 232.

⁶ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, p. XXII.

⁷ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 4, p. 81.

⁸ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 79, 81.

⁹ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, l. II, tit. XIII, ch. 12, cols. 285–286 (X 2. 13. 12).

¹⁰ Robolini, *Notizie*, IV, p. 68.

¹¹ *Die register Innocenz' III.*, VII, doc. 147, p. 235, doc. 152, p. 262.

¹² Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi. Lombardia*, II, p. 449.

¹³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 46, p. 85.

¹⁴ Avonto, *I Templari*, p. 151.

¹⁵ Bini, "Dei Templieri in Lucca", doc. 5, pp. 254–257.

¹⁶ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", pp. 105–106.

¹⁷ *Codex Wangianus*, doc. 160, pp. 345–346.

- 11 Enrico Teutonico: *magister domorum militiae Templi totius Italiae* (1239–1242).¹⁸
 12 Goffredo Lupi di Soragna: master of the houses of the Temple in Italy (1244).¹⁹
 13 Giacomo de Boscho: *magister et preceptor totius Italiae* (1245).²⁰
 14 Giacomo de Balma: *procurator* of the Temple in Lombardy (1247).²¹
 15 Dalmazio de Funuccaria or de Fenolar: *sacrarum domorum Templi Ierosolimitani in Italia Magister, magister et preceptor domorum et mansionum Militie Templi per totam Italiam* (1254–1256).²²
 16 Guglielmo da Bubbio: *preceptor domorum templi in Lombardia* (1254).²³ He is also mentioned in a trial deposition.²⁴
 17 Pietro Fernandi: *magister domus Militie Templi in Italia, preceptor domorum militiae Templi in Italia* (1259–1260).²⁵
 18 Ermanno di Osimo: *magister et preceptor ecclesie (sic) militiae Templi in Italia* (1266).²⁶ He is perhaps identifiable as Ermanno, *preceptor domus milicie Templi de Campanea et aliarum domorum de marchia Tarvisina* in 1247.²⁷
 19 Enrico da Treviso: *magister domorum et mansionum Militie Templi in Italia* (1268), *domorum militiae templi Magister in Italia generalis* (1271).²⁸
 20 Oberto di Calamandrana: *domorum Militie Templi in Lombardia preceptor* (1271).²⁹
 21 Bianco da Pigazzano: preceptor of the house of Asti (1244),³⁰ witness? (1256),³¹ preceptor of the houses of Piacenza and Milan, *procurator* of the Templar houses and lieutenant for Lombardy (1266),³² preceptor of the house of Piacenza and *minister pro Templo in Lombardia* (1267),³³ *preceptor domus et mansionis milicie Templi de Placentia* (1268–1270),³⁴ preceptor of the houses of Piacenza and Milan and *tenens locum magistri*

¹⁸ Borracelli, “La magione templare di Frosini”, p. 314, notes 13–14; *Historia diplomatica*, V, p. 728; *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, III, doc. 6050, col. 519.

¹⁹ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, p. 512.

²⁰ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, pp. 86–87.

²¹ Turletti, *Storia di Savignano*, II, pp. 263–264.

²² Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 3, p. 441; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, VII, col. 793; Guerrieri, *I cavalieri Templari*, doc. 2, p. 91.

²³ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109.

²⁴ Bini, “Dei Temperi e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 491.

²⁵ Bini, “Dei Temperi e del loro processo”, doc. 4, pp. 443–452; Bini, “Dei Tempieri in Lucca”, pp. 273–275; *Regesta Chartarum*, I, doc. 1931 pp. 36–38; Ciammaraconi, “L'ordine templare”, pp. 81–82.

²⁶ Guerrini, “La «mansio templi»”, doc. 4, p. 317.

²⁷ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 5, pp. 82–84.

²⁸ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

²⁹ *I registri della cancelleria*, VII, no. 218, p. 250.

³⁰ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

³¹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 3, p. 441.

³² Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 224.

³³ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 99–100.

³⁴ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 34, 49.

- in tota bavilia Lombardie* (1271),³⁵ *domorum milicie Templi in Ytalia generalis preceptor* (1276, 1278),³⁶ *preceptor et minister* of the houses of Milan, Pavia, Toricella Verzate, Piacenza, Fiorenzuola d'Arda, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Montesordo (1281),³⁷ *domorum militie templi in Ytalia Generalis preceptor and domorum militie Templi in Lombardia tota* [preceptor or master] (c.1271 – c.1285).³⁸ He is also mentioned in several trial depositions.³⁹
- 22 Guglielmo de Noves or Provintialis: *magister generalem in Lombardia et Tuscia* (1285),⁴⁰ Templar Master of Hungary (1292).⁴¹ He is mentioned in several trial depositions as being the Master of central and northern Italy.⁴²
- 23 Artusio de Pocapalea: he is only mentioned in trial records as *magnus preceptor* (...) *in Lombardia, Tuscia, Patrimonio Beati Petri in Tuscia, Roma, ducatu Spoletano, Campania, Maritima, Marchia et Sardinia* (c.1290–1291).⁴³
- 24 Guglielmo di Canelli: preceptor of Sicily (1284–1287),⁴⁴ Queen Constance of Aragon wrote a letter of recommendation on his behalf (1290),⁴⁵ James II of Aragon wrote him a letter of accreditation (1294).⁴⁶ He was sent to Hungary and died shortly after his return to Italy. He is also mentioned in some trial depositions as *magnus preceptor* [*in Lombardia, Tuscia, Patrimonio beati Petri in Tuscia, Roma, Ducatu Spoletano, Campania, Maritima, Marchia et Sardinia*], *preceptor balive* [*Lombardie*?], *preceptorem Lombardie*, *preceptor in provincia Lombardie*.⁴⁷

³⁵ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52.

³⁶ Bellomo, “Una mansione”, docs. 5–6, pp. 201–204.

³⁷ Piacenza, Archivio del Capitolo cattedrale, Convenzioni 33, cassetta 3, notaio Ruffino Arlotti (copy of the original document issued on 15th of February 1318).

³⁸ Dondi, “Manoscritti liturgici”, pp. 96–97.

³⁹ Bini, “Dei Temperi e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 461, 462, 464, 470, 472; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188, 190–193, 201, 203.

⁴⁰ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 191–192.

⁴¹ Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatikai Levéltár (Diplomatics Archive) no. 1345, 13th of July 1292.

⁴² *Le procès*, II, pp. 239, 348; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188, 201; Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 209–210; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 141; Bini, “Dei Temperi e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 462, 465, 469, 481, 485.

⁴³ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188–189, 201. A Templar named Artusius is also mentioned in the deposition of Pietro da Bologna. *Le procès* II, p. 349.

⁴⁴ Bramato, *Storia*, II, no. 349, p. 154; *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, II, p. 372.

⁴⁵ *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 5, p. 10.

⁴⁶ *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 18, p. 32.

⁴⁷ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 189, 201; Bini, “Dei Temperi e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 465, 474, *Le procès*, II, p. 425; Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 174–175; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 90.

- 25 Ugucione, papal *cubicularius* (1278–1302),⁴⁸ *domorum militie templi in lombardia preceptor* (1300).⁴⁹ He was buried at the church of Santa Maria in Capita in the diocese of Bagnoregio⁵⁰ and is mentioned in the trial records as being the Master of central and northern Italy.⁵¹
- 26 Giacomo da Montecucco, *preceptor Lombardie et Tuscie* (1303),⁵² *domini pape cubicularius et domorum militie Templi in Lombardia, Tuscia, terra Rome et Sardinia generalis preceptor atque aliarum preceptoriarum domorum militie Templi* (1304),⁵³ *prior Lombardie ordinis Templariorum* (1306),⁵⁴ *cubicularius* and *preceptor domorum militie Templi in Lombardia* (1307),⁵⁵ arrested and imprisoned in Poitiers (1307),⁵⁶ escaped from prison (1308),⁵⁷ *militie Templi in Lombardia, Tuscia, Terra Rome atque Sardene generalis preceptor* (1308).⁵⁸ He is often mentioned in the trial records.⁵⁹ For a Giacomo or Giacomino da Montecucco attested to in the Ivrea area between 1292 and 1316, see above, Chapter V, pp. 205–206.

⁴⁸ Baethgen, “Quellen”, pp. 196–199, 201, 204; Luttrell, “Two Templar-Hospitalier preceptories”, p. 105; *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, II, docs. 7144–7147, pp. 966–967, docs. 7653–7654, p. 1047; Paravicini Bagliani, *La vita quotidiana*, p. 62; Silvestrelli, “Le chiese”, p. 494, note 1; *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, III, doc. 5032, col. 664.

⁴⁹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 6, pp. 218–219.

⁵⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 189, 214, 251; Romalli, “La magione”, p. 328, note 60.

⁵¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 131, 133, 135, 137–139, 173, 177–181, 184, 189, 192, 201–202, 206, 209, 214–217, 219, 250–251, 254–257, 260; *Le procès*, II, p. 562.

⁵² Pezzella, “Santa Maria”, pp. 51–52.

⁵³ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304.

⁵⁴ Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, Obligationes et solutiones, 2, fol. 114^v (information kindly pointed out to me by Barbara Bombi).

⁵⁵ *Regestum Clementis*, V, doc. 7183, p. 288.

⁵⁶ Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, doc. 39, pp. 59–60.

⁵⁷ Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang*, II, doc. 74, p. 114.

⁵⁸ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 8, p. 220.

⁵⁹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 464–466, 478, 479, 486; Tommasi, “Interrogatorio”, pp. 288, 293; *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 72, 89, 92, 95–97, 104, 108–113, 132, 136, 146, 173, 186, 189, 193, 201, 214, 216, 232, 235–237, 250, 252, 254–256; Schottmuller, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 61, 126.

APPENDIX III

PROSOPOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE 2:
TEMPLAR BRETHREN AND LAY
ASSOCIATES (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

1. *Templar brethren attested to or originating from North West Italy*¹

- 1 Aicardo, simple brother of the house of Albenga (1191).²
- 2 Alberico, preceptor of the house of Piacenza (1286).³
- 3 Alberico da Albernasco, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo (c.1281).⁴
- 4 Alberico da Lodi, *procurator* of the house of Vercelli (1179).⁵
- 5 Albertino di Canelli, admitted into the order (c.1299–1300),⁶ *hostiarius* of Benedict XI (1300),⁷ probably vicar of the preceptor of Lombardy (c.1304),⁸ master of Sicily (c.1305–1307),⁹ arrested and tried in France (1311).¹⁰
- 6 Alberto, preceptor of the house of Fiorenzuola d'Arda (1214).¹¹
- 7 Alberto, simple brother of the house of Milan (1215).¹²
- 8 Alberto, preceptor of the house of Cerro di Toccalmatto, Piacenza (1268).¹³

¹ This repertory provides a list of the Templar brethren attested to or originating from North-west Italy. For each brother the post, the house to which he belonged and the date of appearance are noted, if known. When a brother appears in a place which is not his house of affiliation, this place is registered as well. Place of appearance is also noted when the house of affiliation is unknown.

² Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 79.

³ Zaninoni, “*La Domus*”, p. 466.

⁴ Bini, “*Dei Temperii e del loro processo*”, doc. 9, p. 470.

⁵ *Le carte dell'archivio arcivescovile di Vercelli*, doc. 15, p. 232.

⁶ *Le procès*, II, p. 425.

⁷ Tommasi, “*L'ordine dei Templari a Perugia*”, doc. 17, p. 60; Silvestrelli, “*Le chiese*”, p. 528.

⁸ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 216–217.

⁹ *Le procès*, II, p. 424.

¹⁰ *Le procès*, II, pp. 424–427. He is perhaps identifiable as Ubertino di Cavelle. Bini, “*Dei Temperii e del loro processo*”, doc. 9, p. 474.

¹¹ “*Le pergamene ritrovate*”, pp. 87–88.

¹² Colombo, “*I Gerosolimitani*”, doc. 1, p. 216.

¹³ Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico, Fondo Camera segreta, Serie Cartolari, Registri di Privilegi e Statuti della comunità di Modena, Registrum Antiquum, no. 401, fol. 165^v.

- 9 Alberto da Brescia, *missus*, Cremona (1165).¹⁴
 10 Alberto da Pigazzano, simple brother of the house of Piacenza (1311).¹⁵
 11 Alberto de la Moretta, Mezeta or Murete, preceptor and *minister*
 of the house of Brescia (1244, 1254). He is also mentioned in a trial
 deposition.¹⁶
 12 Alberto di Canelli, *magister domorum milicie Templi in regno [Sicilie]* (1262),¹⁷
 preceptor of the houses of Asti, Chieri and Villastellone (1268),¹⁸
 preceptor of the house of Asti (1271),¹⁹ king Peter III asked for his move
 to Aragon (1279).²⁰
 13 Alberto di Castell'Arquato, preceptor of the house of Castellaraldo
 (1300).²¹
 14 Alberto Lombardo, *magister* of the Templar houses of Rome, *Tuscia* and
 Sardinia (1236).²²
 15 Alberto Lombardo di Piacenza, simple brother, Castellaraldo (1300).²³
 16 Alcherio, simple brother of the house of Sant'Apollinare (1164).²⁴
 17 Ambrogio, preceptor of the house of Murello (1227).²⁵
 18 Americo, preceptor of the house of Brescia, Piacenza (1268).²⁶
 19 Amiso, *portonarius* of the house of Sant'Apollinare (1164).²⁷
 20 Andrea, preceptor of the house of Chieri (1227).²⁸
 21 Andrea da Siena, simple brother, Cesena (1310).²⁹
 22 Andrea di Testona, presbyter of the house of Moncalieri (1287).³⁰
 23 Anrico, *canavarius* of the house of Milan (1304).³¹

¹⁴ *Codice diplomatico cremonese*, I, doc. 219, p. 131; *Le carte cremonesi*, III, doc. 417, p. 26.

¹⁵ Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 525; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 299.

¹⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 1, no. 11; Bellomo, "Da mansionem templare", doc. 3, p. 372; Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

¹⁷ *Historia diplomatica*, p. 216.

¹⁸ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri", p. 48.

¹⁹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri", p. 52.

²⁰ Bulst-Thiele, *Magistri*, p. 278.

²¹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 193, 251–252, 254, 256, 260.

²² Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 6, p. 257.

²³ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 250.

²⁴ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentiliū suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fol. 33^v.

²⁵ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", p. 105.

²⁶ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri", p. 48.

²⁷ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentiliū suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fol. 33^v.

²⁸ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", p. 105.

²⁹ Tommasi, "Interrogatorio", pp. 293–298.

³⁰ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 169, p. 227.

³¹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304; Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 6, pp. 218–219.

- 24 Antonio da Vercelli, *miles*, Limassol (1304).³²
 25 Ardizzone, preceptor of the house of Vercelli, Piacenza (1268, 1271).³³
 26 Arnolfo Grasso, simple brother of the house of Milan (1149).³⁴
 27 Arrigo de Montefalcone, simple brother, Piacenza (1305).³⁵
 28 B[...], preceptor of the house of Parma, Piacenza (1271).³⁶
 29 Bartolomeo da Cremona, simple brother, Vienne (1296).³⁷
 30 Bartolomeo da Modena, *vicarius* of Uguccione di Vercelli (c.1300–1303).³⁸
 31 Benadusio di Cremona, simple brother, Lucca (1274).³⁹
 32 Bernabone, simple brother, Cremona (1309).⁴⁰
 33 Bernardo da Parma, simple brother, Florence (1311).⁴¹
 34 Bonfilio, preceptor of the house of Novara, Piacenza (1268).⁴²
 35 Bonfilio, preceptor of the house of Cerro di Toccalmatto, Piacenza (1271).⁴³
 36 Bonifacio, preceptor of the house of Milan (1149).⁴⁴
 37 Bonifacio, *magister*, Sant'Apollinare (1164).⁴⁵
 38 Bonifacio, preceptor of the house of Pavia, Paciliano (1228).⁴⁶
 39 Bonifacio de Maglano, simple brother of the house of Chieri (1245).⁴⁷
 40 Bonifacio di Ponzone, preceptor of the house of Acqui, Piacenza (1244).⁴⁸
 41 Bosco, preceptor of the house of Murello, Piacenza (1268).⁴⁹
 42 Busco di Alessandria, simple brother, Venice (1288).⁵⁰
 43 Corrado de Parala, simple brother, Piacenza (1268).⁵¹
 44 Domenico di Montedonico, simple brother, Bologna (c.1302).⁵²

³² *Le procès*, I, p. 562.

³³ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

³⁴ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 2, p. 214.

³⁵ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 479.

³⁶ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52.

³⁷ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 186; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 109.

³⁸ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 192.

³⁹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 8, p. 458.

⁴⁰ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 331, p. 521.

⁴¹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 470–478.

⁴² Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁴³ Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico, Fondo Camera segreta, Serie Cartolari, Registri di Privilegi e Statuti della comunità di Modena, Registrum Antiquum, no. 429, fol. 179^r.

⁴⁴ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 2, p. 214.

⁴⁵ Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Benvenuto di San Giorgio, *De origine gentiliū suorum et rerum successibus*, Storia Patria 530, fol. 33^v.

⁴⁶ *Le carte dell'archivio capitulare di Casale*, doc. 136, p. 244.

⁴⁷ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

⁴⁸ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

⁴⁹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁵⁰ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 209; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 141.

⁵¹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁵² Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 478.

- 45 Egidio, preceptor of the house of San Gimignano, Florence (1311).⁵³
 46 Emanuele Obici de Bobio di Castell'Arquato, simple brother, Lucca (1274).⁵⁴
 47 Enrico, *minister* of the house of Albenga (1186).⁵⁵
 48 Enrico, presbyter of the house of Genoa (1203).⁵⁶
 49 Enrico, simple brother of the house of Susa (1213).⁵⁷
 50 Enrico, simple brother, abbey of Staffarda (1263).⁵⁸
 51 Enrico de Altixano, simple brother of the house of Gorra, Chieri (1245).⁵⁹
 52 Enrico di Ponzone, preceptor of the house of Pavia *et a Papia superius*, Tortona (1252).⁶⁰
 53 Enrico di Ponzone, simple brother, Isola Formicaria (1271).⁶¹
 54 Enrico di Ponzone, simple brother, San Pietro di Ferrania-Borghetto di Cortemilia-Carretto (1283–1289).⁶²
 55 Ermanno, preceptor of the house of Brescia (1263).⁶³
 56 Federico, presbyter of the house of Genoa (1161).⁶⁴
 57 Federico de Bargiis, preceptor of the house of Murello, Racconigi (1266).⁶⁵
 58 Federico de Bargiis, preceptor of the house of Asti, Chieri (1285).⁶⁶
 59 Francesco, simple brother of the house of Milan (1215).⁶⁷
 60 Francesco, preceptor of the house of *Campaneia*, Bologna (1303).⁶⁸
 61 Francesco, presbyter of the house of Pavia, Piacenza (c.1305).⁶⁹
 62 Francesco da Genova, sergeant, Nicosia (1310).⁷⁰

⁵³ Bini, “Dei Templieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 461–470.

⁵⁴ Bini, “Dei Templieri e del loro processo”, doc. 8, p. 458.

⁵⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 72.

⁵⁶ *Lanfranco*, I, doc. 289, p. 134.

⁵⁷ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 79, p. 104.

⁵⁸ *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda*, II, doc. 468, p. 86. He is perhaps identifiable as Enrico di Ponzone (no. 1.52 or no. 1.53).

⁵⁹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

⁶⁰ *Le carte dell'archivio capitolare di Tortona*, II, doc. 532, p. 209. See also above, no. 1.50.

⁶¹ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Paesi per A e B, mazzo 19, Ponti, 1271; Capone, “Nuove ricerche”, pp. 70–71. See also above, no. 1.50.

⁶² *Monumenta Aquensia*, II, doc. 9, col. 524, doc. 109, col. 661, doc. 182, col. 693; Ponziglione, “Saggio”, pp. 143–144; Ferrero di Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 58; Ricaldone, *Templari*, I, pp. 242–243; Pavoni, “Ponzone”, p. 41, note 78.

⁶³ Guerrini, “La «mansio templi»”, doc. 3, p. 317.

⁶⁴ *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 795, p. 427.

⁶⁵ *Cartario dell'abazia di Casanova*, doc. 430, p. 342.

⁶⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 191–192.

⁶⁷ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 1, p. 216.

⁶⁸ Bini, “Dei Templieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 486.

⁶⁹ Bini, “Dei Templieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 479.

⁷⁰ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 191, 320–323; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 115–116, 286–288.

- 63 Fulco, *missus* of the house of Piacenza (1180).⁷¹
 64 Gabriele, preceptor of the house of Ruspaglia, Piacenza (1271).⁷²
 65 Gabriele Gambulara, de Gambalara, or de Gambalaria, simple brother, Piacenza (1244),⁷³ simple brother of the house of Treviso (1247),⁷⁴ witness, Piacenza (1268), preceptor of the Templar houses in the March of Treviso, Piacenza (1271).⁷⁵
 66 Geniso da Cremena, simple brother, Vienne (1296).⁷⁶
 67 Gerardo, preceptor of the house of Montebello, Cabriolo (1227).⁷⁷
 68 Gerardo, preceptor of the house of Livorno Ferraris, Piacenza (1268).⁷⁸
 69 Gerardo da Piacenza, serveant, Viterbo (1310).⁷⁹
 70 Gerardo de Acquarellis de Alessandria, simple brother, Parma (1292).⁸⁰
 71 Germano, preceptor of the house of Moncalieri, Chieri (1245).⁸¹
 72 Giacomino di Alessandria, simple brother, Piacenza (1268, 1271).⁸²
 73 Giacomino di Tortona, simple brother, Piacenza (1268).⁸³
 74 Giacomo, papal marshal.⁸⁴
 75 Giacomo, preceptor of the house of *Campaneae*, Piacenza (1268).⁸⁵
 76 Giacomo, preceptor of the house of Fiorenzuola d'Arda, Piacenza (1268).⁸⁶
 77 Giacomo, preceptor of the house of Florence, Piacenza (1268).⁸⁷
 78 Giacomo, preceptor of the house of Tortona (1310).⁸⁸
 79 Giacomo Baudo, presbyter of the house of Chieri (1245).⁸⁹
 80 Giacomo da Bologna, simple brother, Piacenza (1244).⁹⁰
 81 Giacomo da Parma, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, Piacenza (1244).⁹¹

⁷¹ Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 100, note 2.

⁷² Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52.

⁷³ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

⁷⁴ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 5, pp. 82–84.

⁷⁵ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁷⁶ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 186; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 109.

⁷⁷ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", p. 105.

⁷⁸ Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico, Fondo Camera segreta, Serie Cartolari, Registri di Privilegi e Statuti della comunità di Modena, Registrum Antiquum, no. 401, fol. 165^v.

⁷⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 91, 163–168, 187–199.

⁸⁰ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 175; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 91.

⁸¹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

⁸² Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

⁸³ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁸⁴ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 485.

⁸⁵ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁸⁶ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁸⁷ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

⁸⁸ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 340, pp. 550–552.

⁸⁹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

⁹⁰ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

⁹¹ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

- 82 Giacomo da Piacenza, presbyter, Parma (1292).⁹²
 83 Giacomo da Pigazzano, preceptor of the house of Milan (1291–1304).⁹³
 84 Giacomo da Pigazzano, simple brother of the house of Piacenza (1311).⁹⁴
 85 Giacomo da Pigazzano, simple brother, Florence (1311).⁹⁵
 86 Giacomo da Reggio, preceptor of the house of Valeggio, Cabriolo (1227).⁹⁶
 87 Giacomo de Mellacio, preceptor of the house of Vercelli, procurator of the houses of Vercelli, Novara, Livorno Ferraris, Ruspaglia, Ivrea, Vercelli (1222).⁹⁷
 88 Giacomo de Pocapalea, papal *cubicularius* (1288–1297).⁹⁸
 89 Giacomo della Pusterla, preceptor of the house of San Martino de Stelone-Gorra (1227).⁹⁹
 90 Giacomo di Bologna, simple brother, Bologna (1282).¹⁰⁰
 91 Giacomo di Bosco, simple brother, Parma (1292).¹⁰¹
 92 Giacomo Fontana, preceptor of the house of Cabriolo, *procurator et syndicus* of Giacomo da Montecucco (1304),¹⁰² imprisoned and tried in Emilia-Romagna (1308–1311).¹⁰³
 93 Gilberto, preceptor of the house of Foligno, Piacenza (1268, 1271).¹⁰⁴
 94 Giordano, *minister* of the house of Ivrea (1179).¹⁰⁵
 95 Giorgio, preceptor of the house of Asti (c.1299–1300).¹⁰⁶
 96 Giorgio, vicar of Uguccione di Vercelli (c.1300–1303).¹⁰⁷

⁹² Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 175; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 91.

⁹³ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 81–82; Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304; Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 4, p. 217, doc. 6, pp. 218–219. He is probably identifiable as the same as nos. 1.84 and 1.85.

⁹⁴ Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 525; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 299. See also nos. 1.83, 1.85.

⁹⁵ Bini, “Dei Templari e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 491–495. See also above, nos. 1.83, 1.84.

⁹⁶ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

⁹⁷ Avonto, *I Templari*, pp. 151–152.

⁹⁸ *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, II, docs. 7001–7002, p. 945, docs. 7653–7654, p. 1047; *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, I, docs. 2331–2332, cols. 917–918.

⁹⁹ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹⁰⁰ *Le procès*, II, p. 349.

¹⁰¹ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 175; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 91.

¹⁰² Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, pp. 34–35; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304.

¹⁰³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 523, 527, 528, 530; Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 525; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, pp. 303–305.

¹⁰⁴ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁰⁵ *Le carte dell'abazia di S. Stefano*, doc. 25, pp. 310–311.

¹⁰⁶ *Le procès*, II, pp. 425–426.

¹⁰⁷ *The Trial of the Templars of the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 202, 206, 207, 209, 215, 217–220.

- 97 Giorgio da Castellengo, *miles quondam Templi*, Valenza (1322).¹⁰⁸
 98 Giovannello di Perugia, simple brother, Piacenza (1271).¹⁰⁹
 99 Giovanni, presbyter of the house of Albenga (1191).¹¹⁰
 100 Giovanni, presbyter and *sindicus* of the Temple, Albenga (1224).¹¹¹
 101 Giovanni, preceptor and presbyter of the house of Milan (1226–1227).¹¹²
 102 Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Padua, Piacenza (1268).¹¹³
 103 Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Livorno Ferraris, Piacenza (1271).¹¹⁴
 104 Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Reggio, Piacenza (1271).¹¹⁵
 105 Giovanni, preceptor of the house of Valeggio, Piacenza (1271).¹¹⁶
 106 Giovanni Bazano, simple brother, Casale Monferrato (1308).¹¹⁷
 107 Giovanni da Brescia, preceptor of the house of Reggio Emilia (1268).¹¹⁸
 108 Giovanni da Brescia, simple brother, Bologna (c.1302).¹¹⁹
 109 Giovanni da Milano, simple brother, Barletta (1196).¹²⁰
 110 Giovanni da Pavia, simple brother, Torricella Verzate? (c.1261).¹²¹
 111 Giovanni de Campanea, simple brother?, Piacenza (c.1261–1278).¹²²
 112 Giovanni de Casselis, preceptor of the house of Moncalieri (1233).¹²³
 113 Giovanni de Cassio, simple brother of the house of Milan, Cabriolo (1227).¹²⁴
 114 Giovanni de Mocerella, simple brother, Turin (1203).¹²⁵
 115 Giovanni de Regio, preceptor of the house of Reggio Emilia (c.1281).¹²⁶
 116 Giovanni de Vinti, simple brother, Bologna (c.1295).¹²⁷

¹⁰⁸ Ferraris, *La pieve di S. Maria*, docs. 1–2, pp. 670–674.

¹⁰⁹ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52.

¹¹⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 79.

¹¹¹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 89–90.

¹¹² Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 69–70; Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹¹³ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48.

¹¹⁴ Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico, Fondo Camera segreta, Serie Cartolari, Registri di Privilegi e Statuti della comunità di Modena, Registrum Antiquum, no. 429, fol. 179^r.

¹¹⁵ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52.

¹¹⁶ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52.

¹¹⁷ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 34, p. 265.

¹¹⁸ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48. A deed from 1268 is probably incorrect when it refers to Gerardo de Brixia as preceptor of the house of Reggio Emilia. Bramato, *Storia*, II, p. 138, no. 276.

¹¹⁹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 478.

¹²⁰ Guerrieri, *I cavalieri*, pp. 89–91.

¹²¹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 491.

¹²² Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 466, 491.

¹²³ “Appendice documentaria”, doc. 46, p. 264.

¹²⁴ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹²⁵ *Il Libro Rosso*, doc. 45, p. 81.

¹²⁶ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 470.

¹²⁷ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 474.

- 117 Giovanni di Castell'Arquato, preceptor of *Tuscia* and *Terra Romae*, Lucca (1274).¹²⁸
- 118 Giovanni di Castell'Arquato, preceptor of the house of *Campanea* and lieutenant for the March of Treviso, Bologna–Treviso (1302–1304).¹²⁹
- 119 Giovanni di Alessandria, preceptor of the house of Moncalieri, Cabriolo (1227).¹³⁰
- 120 Giovanni di Alessandria, preceptor of the house of Moncalieri, Piacenza–Moncalieri (1244).¹³¹
- 121 Giovanni Martino, *missus* of Alberico, master of Italy, Chieri (1190).¹³²
- 122 Giovanni Pulcher, preceptor of the house of San Quirino, Cabriolo (1227).¹³³
- 123 Giovanni Salvagio da Genova, preceptor of the house of Barletta (1202), preceptor of the house of Ruvo (1204).¹³⁴
- 124 Giovannibono di Bergamo, simple brother, Piacenza (1268).¹³⁵
- 125 Gualterio, preceptor of San Filippo and *Marchia Anconitana*, Piacenza (1268).¹³⁶
- 126 Guarino, simple brother, Asti (c.1299–1300).¹³⁷
- 127 Guglielmo, simple brother, Savigliano (1181).¹³⁸
- 128 Guglielmo, simple brother, Susa (1185).¹³⁹
- 129 Guglielmo, simple brother of the house of Vercelli (1198).¹⁴⁰
- 130 Guglielmo, presbyter of the house of Fiorenzuola d'Arda (1214).¹⁴¹
- 131 Guglielmo, preceptor of the house of Bergamo, Piacenza (1268).¹⁴²
- 132 Guglielmo da Pigazzano, simple brother of the house of Piacenza (1311).¹⁴³

¹²⁸ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 8, p. 458.

¹²⁹ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 7a–b, pp. 86–87; Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 474, 478.

¹³⁰ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹³¹ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune di Moncalieri, Serie Generale, no. 160. He could be identifiable as the preceptor of Moncalieri in 1227 (no. 1.119). See also above, Part II, pp. 287–288.

¹³² *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, p. XXII.

¹³³ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹³⁴ Guzzo, *Templari*, pp. 45, 95.

¹³⁵ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48.

¹³⁶ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48.

¹³⁷ *Le procès*, II, pp. 425–426.

¹³⁸ *Carte varie*, doc. 244, p. 320.

¹³⁹ Pazé, “Lungo la strada di Provenza”, p. 63, doc. 2, p. 78.

¹⁴⁰ *Cartario del monastero di Muleggio*, doc. 17, p. 22.

¹⁴¹ “Le pergamene ritrovate”, pp. 87–88.

¹⁴² Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48. He is identifiable as Guglielmo de Caselle (no. 1.135).

¹⁴³ Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 525; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 299.

- 133 Guglielmo de Bicocha, delegate of Bianco da Pigazzano, Piacenza (1271).¹⁴⁴
- 134 Guglielmo de Casali, preceptor of the house of Moncalieri (1287).¹⁴⁵
- 135 Guglielmo de Caselle, preceptor of the house of Bergamo, delegate of Bianco da Pigazzano (1276, 1278).¹⁴⁶
- 136 Guglielmo de Chilliani, simple brother of the house of Albenga (1191).¹⁴⁷
- 137 Guglielmo de Garent, sergeant, Nicosia (1310).¹⁴⁸
- 138 Guglielmo de Lamanda, simple brother of the house of Albenga (1191).¹⁴⁹
- 139 Guglielmo de Niza, simple brother, Torricella Verzate? (c.1261).¹⁵⁰
- 140 Guglielmo de Turri, preceptor of the house of *Solerus*, Cabriolo (1227).¹⁵¹
- 141 Guglielmo de Verduno, presbyter, Viterbo (1310).¹⁵²
- 142 Guglielmo di Alessandria, preceptor of the house of Modena, delegate of Bianco da Pigazzano (1270).¹⁵³
- 143 Guglielmo di Piacenza, simple brother of the house of Vicenza (1298).¹⁵⁴
- 144 Guglielmo di Vignano, *minister* of the house of Albenga (1181).¹⁵⁵
- 145 Guglielmo Rubeo di Alessandria, preceptor of the house of Ivrea (1295, 1311).¹⁵⁶
- 146 Guido, *minister* of the house of Albenga (1181).¹⁵⁷
- 147 Guido de Cietica, preceptor of the house of Caporsoli, Florence (1311).¹⁵⁸
- 148 Guido de Trana, preceptor of the house of Turin (1216).¹⁵⁹
- 149 Guido di Parma, preceptor of the house of Torricella Verzate, Cabriolo (1227).¹⁶⁰
- 150 Guidotto Basabelletta, simple brother of the house of Milan (1215).¹⁶¹

¹⁴⁴ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52. He is perhaps identifiable as Guglielmo di Alessandria, no. 1.142.

¹⁴⁵ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 169, p. 227.

¹⁴⁶ Bellomo, "Una mansione", docs. 5–6, pp. 201–204. See also above, no. 1.131.

¹⁴⁷ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁸ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 174–175, 256–260; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 90, 203–208.

¹⁴⁹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

¹⁵¹ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", p. 105.

¹⁵² *The Trial in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 188–189, 201.

¹⁵³ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 32–37. He is perhaps identifiable as Guglielmo de Bicocha (no. 1.133).

¹⁵⁴ Bramato, *Storia*, II, no. 421, p. 169.

¹⁵⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 67.

¹⁵⁶ Pola Faletti Villafaletto, *La castellata*, III, p. 236; Ivrea, Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Ivrea, Protocollo VIII.3.310/320, fols. 6^v, 10^{r-v}.

¹⁵⁷ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 67.

¹⁵⁸ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 478–485.

¹⁵⁹ *Cartario dell'abazia di Staffarda*, I, doc. 149, pp. 149–150.

¹⁶⁰ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", p. 105.

¹⁶¹ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 1, p. 216.

- 151 Guidotto iudex de Laudo da Brescia, archpriest of the house of Treviso (1190).¹⁶²
- 152 Isnardo, preceptor of the house of *Campane* (1227).¹⁶³
- 153 Isnardo, preceptor of the house of Chieri (1244).¹⁶⁴
- 154 Isnardo, lieutenant of the master of Lombardy (c.1261).¹⁶⁵
- 155 Ivano, preceptor of the house of Alba, Piacenza (1268, 1271).¹⁶⁶
- 156 Ivano di Canelli, *miles*, Asti (c.1299–1300).¹⁶⁷
- 157 Lanfranco, simple brother of the house of Bergamo (1201).¹⁶⁸
- 158 Lanfranco di Fiorenzuola, simple brother, Florence (1311).¹⁶⁹
- 159 Lombardo, simple brother of the house of Vercelli (1198).¹⁷⁰
- 160 Luigi de Aquia, simple brother, Piacenza (1268).¹⁷¹
- 161 Manfredo, preceptor of the house of Alessandria (1268, 1271).¹⁷²
- 162 Manfredo, preceptor of the house of Ivrea (1268, 1271).¹⁷³
- 163 Manfredo de Vitreo, simple brother, Casale Monferrato (1308).¹⁷⁴
- 164 Manfredo di Villanova, preceptor of the house of Osiglia and *nuncius* of Bianco da Pigazzano (1267).¹⁷⁵
- 165 Manuele, presbyter, Asti (1303).¹⁷⁶
- 166 Marchese Bonavita, simple brother of the house of Genoa (1161).¹⁷⁷
- 167 Marco, preceptor of the house of Acqui (1280).¹⁷⁸
- 168 Marco Perugino, simple brother (c.1281).¹⁷⁹
- 169 Martino, preceptor of the house of Cremona (1193).¹⁸⁰
- 170 Matteo, preceptor of the house of Bologna, Cabriolo (1227).¹⁸¹
- 171 Matteo, presbyter of the house of Moncalieri (1281, 1286).¹⁸²

¹⁶² Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 4, p. 81.

¹⁶³ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹⁶⁴ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

¹⁶⁵ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 491.

¹⁶⁶ Trota, “L'ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁶⁷ *Le procès*, II, pp. 425–426.

¹⁶⁸ Bellomo, “Una mansione”, doc. 3, p. 196.

¹⁶⁹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 491–501.

¹⁷⁰ *Cartario del monastero di Muleggio*, doc. 17, p. 22.

¹⁷¹ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 48.

¹⁷² Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁷³ Trota, “L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁷⁴ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 34, p. 265.

¹⁷⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 100.

¹⁷⁶ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 198; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 126.

¹⁷⁷ *Il Cartulare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, doc. 795, p. 427.

¹⁷⁸ *Le carte della Chiesa d'Acqui*, doc. 139, p. 250.

¹⁷⁹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 471.

¹⁸⁰ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 99.

¹⁸¹ Alberzoni, “«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»”, p. 105.

¹⁸² *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 160, p. 212; *Cartario della chiesa di S. Maria di Testona*, docs. 48–49, p. 155.

- 172 Mauro da Pigazzano, preceptor of the houses of Pavia and Casei (1285).¹⁸³
- 173 Mauro da Pigazzano, simple brother of the house of Piacenza, imprisoned and tried in Emilia Romagna (1311).¹⁸⁴
- 174 Michelone da Pavia, simple brother, Moncalieri? (c.1284).¹⁸⁵
- 175 Milano, preceptor of the house of Vercelli (1294).¹⁸⁶
- 176 Niccolò Barachini, preceptor of the house of Pavia, Piacenza (1268, 1271).¹⁸⁷ He is also mentioned in a trial deposition probably referring to Moncalieri (c.1284).¹⁸⁸
- 177 Niccolò da Reggio, preceptor of the house of Grosseto (1311).¹⁸⁹
- 178 Nicola da Montecucco, *miles*, Nicosia (1310).¹⁹⁰
- 179 Nicola de Celori, preceptor of the house of Piacenza (1244).¹⁹¹
- 180 Niger, *minister* of the house of Bergamo (1201).¹⁹²
- 181 Niger, preceptor of the house of Milan (1215).¹⁹³
- 182 Oberto, simple brother of the house of Turin (1216).¹⁹⁴
- 183 Oberto, simple brother of the house of Piacenza (1253).¹⁹⁵
- 184 Oberto di Acqui, simple brother of the house of Turin (1208).¹⁹⁶
- 185 Oberto of the Conts of Ventimiglia (c.1250–1300).¹⁹⁷
- 186 Oddino di San Giorgio, preceptor of the house of Murello (1308).¹⁹⁸
- 187 Oddone di Biandrate, preceptor? (1247).¹⁹⁹
- 188 Ogerio, simple brother of the house of Turin (1208).²⁰⁰

¹⁸³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, docs. 112–113, pp. 190–192. He is identifiable as Moro, *magnus preceptor in Roma et terra Rome* (c.1290: *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 132, 133, 202, 203, 207.) and perhaps as a Templar brother imprisoned and tried in Emilia Romagna (no. 1.173).

¹⁸⁴ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 533; Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 525; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, pp. 305–307.

¹⁸⁵ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 471.

¹⁸⁶ Mandelli, *Il comune*, III, p. 134.

¹⁸⁷ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁸⁸ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 471.

¹⁸⁹ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 485–491.

¹⁹⁰ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, pp. 198–199, 341–343; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 125–127, 321–327.

¹⁹¹ Campi, *Dell’Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

¹⁹² Bellomo, “Una mansione”, doc. 3, p. 196.

¹⁹³ Colombo, “I Gerosolimitani”, doc. 1, p. 216.

¹⁹⁴ *Le carte della prepositura di Oulx*, doc. 234, pp. 243–244. He is probably identifiable as Oberto di Acqui (no. 1.184).

¹⁹⁵ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, LXXXVI, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 25th of September 1253.

¹⁹⁶ *Cartario dell’abazia di Staffarda*, I, doc. 149, pp. 149–150. See also above, no. 1.182.

¹⁹⁷ *I Libri iurium*, I, p. 91.

¹⁹⁸ Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all’interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 5. He is identifiable as Ottone di San Giorgio (no. 1.198).

¹⁹⁹ Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, pp. 263–264.

²⁰⁰ *Le carte della prepositura di Oulx*, doc. 234, pp. 243–244.

- 189 Ogerio, preceptor of the house of Verona, Piacenza (1271).²⁰¹
 190 Ogerio, preceptor of the house of Turin (1273).²⁰²
 191 Oliviero, preceptor of the house of Torricella Verzate, Piacenza (1268, 1271).²⁰³
 192 Omodeo Lombardo di Piacenza, simple brother, Castellaraldo (1300).²⁰⁴
 193 Opizzo de Ripa, *rector* and *minister* of the house of Gusano, brother of the house of Piacenza (c.1307).²⁰⁵
 194 Ottone, *minister* of the house of Piacenza (1172).²⁰⁶
 195 Ottone, simple brother of the house of Susa (1243).²⁰⁷
 196 Ottone Barba Scovata, preceptor of the house of Piacenza, Fiorenzuola d'Arda (1214).²⁰⁸
 197 Ottone da Mercenasco, *missus* of Alberico, master of Italy, Chieri (1190).²⁰⁹
 198 Ottone di San Giorgio, *miles*, Asti (1303).²¹⁰
 199 Pagano, *canaverius* of the house of Moncalieri (1267).²¹¹
 200 Pagano, preceptor of the house of Brescia (1300–1307).²¹² He is mentioned in some trial records.²¹³
 201 Pellegrino de Casellis, preceptor of the house of Moncalieri (1253).²¹⁴
 202 Picinaro, *missus* of Alberico, master of Italy, Chieri (1190).²¹⁵
 203 Pierino Sperlino, simple brother, Piacenza (1244).²¹⁶
 204 Pietro, presbyter of the house of Ivrea (1200).²¹⁷
 205 Pietro, presbyter, Turin (1203).²¹⁸
 206 Pietro, simple brother of the house of Susa (1205).²¹⁹

²⁰¹ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, p. 52.

²⁰² *Cartario del monastero di Santa Maria di Brione*, doc. 67, p. 62.

²⁰³ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 48, 52.

²⁰⁴ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 250.

²⁰⁵ Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307–1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v–20^r.

²⁰⁶ *Le carte degli Archivi parmensi*, III, doc. 419, pp. 338–339.

²⁰⁷ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 186, pp. 222–223.

²⁰⁸ “Le pergamene ritrovate”, pp. 87–88.

²⁰⁹ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, p. XXII.

²¹⁰ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 198; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 126. He is identifiable as Oddino di San Giorgio (no. 1.186).

²¹¹ *Cartario dell’abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 148, p. 196.

²¹² Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 2, nos. 70, 80, 81, 82, 86, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, nos. 5, 7; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, docs. 4–7, 11, 13, pp. 372–375.

²¹³ Bini, “Dei Tempieri e del loro processo”, doc. 9, pp. 478, 489.

²¹⁴ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune, Serie Generale, no. 229.

²¹⁵ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, p. XXII.

²¹⁶ Campi, *Dell’Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²¹⁷ Pola Faletti Villafaletto, *La castellata*, III, p. 235.

²¹⁸ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, pp. 80–85.

²¹⁹ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 45, p. 68.

- 207 Pietro, presbyter and *minister* of the house of Acqui (1208).²²⁰
 208 Pietro, *canavarius* of the house of Chieri (1224).²²¹
 209 Pietro, presbyter of the house of Chieri (1224).²²²
 210 Pietro, preceptor of the house of Paciliano (1228).²²³
 211 Pietro, simple brother of the house of Brescia (1239, 1241).²²⁴
 212 Pietro, preceptor of the house of Susa (1241).²²⁵
 213 Pietro, preceptor of the house of Stellone (Gorra), Piacenza–Chieri (1244–1245).²²⁶
 214 Pietro, *accarator Templi*, Famagusta (1300).²²⁷
 215 Pietro Balbo of the Conts of Ventimiglia, (c.1250–1300).²²⁸
 216 Pietro Baldissero, simple brother of the house of Turin (1216).²²⁹
 217 Pietro Bono, *minister* of the house of Ivrea (1179).²³⁰
 218 Pietro Bucilerio, simple brother of the house of Albenga (1191).²³¹
 219 Pietro Caccia, simple brother of the house of Piacenza (1311).²³²
 220 Pietro Cadelli, sergeant, Nicosia (1310).²³³
 221 Pietro da Montecucco, preceptor of the hospital of Sant’Ambrogio (Modena) and the house of Bologna, Piacenza-Modena-Bologna (1262–1311).²³⁴
 222 Pietro de Genua, preceptor, Barletta (1279).²³⁵
 223 Pietro de Turiglis, simple brother of the house of Gorra, Chieri (1245).²³⁶
 224 Pietro di Castell’Arquato, simple brother (c.1261).²³⁷

²²⁰ *Monumenta Aquensia*, I, doc. 130, col. 147.

²²¹ *Cartario dell’abazia di Casanova*, doc. 211, p. 174.

²²² *Cartario dell’abazia di Casanova*, doc. 211, p. 174.

²²³ *Le carte dell’archivio capitolare di Casale Monferrato*, doc. 136, p. 244.

²²⁴ Guerrini, “La «mansio Tempio»”, doc. 1, p. 317; Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 1, no. 18; Bellomo, “Da mansione templare”, doc. 2, p. 372.

²²⁵ *Cartario della certosa di Losa*, doc. 181, p. 217.

²²⁶ Campi, *Dell’Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178; *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

²²⁷ *Actes passes*, docs. 76–78, pp. 44–45.

²²⁸ *I Libri iurium*, I, p. 91.

²²⁹ *Cartario dell’abazia di Staffarda*, I, doc. 149, pp. 149–150.

²³⁰ *Le carte dell’abazia di S. Stefano*, doc. 25, pp. 310–311.

²³¹ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 79.

²³² Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 525; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, p. 299. See also below, no. 3.16.

²³³ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 209; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 140–144, 367–370.

²³⁴ Trota, “L’Ordine dei cavalieri templari”, pp. 45–46, 52–54; Dondi, “*Missale Vetus*”, pp. 347–355; Dondi, “Manoscritti liturgici”, pp. 92, 96–97; Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 526; *Carte*, I/2, doc. 326, p. 504, doc. 370, p. 624.

²³⁵ Bramato, *Storia*, II, no. 341, p. 153. It is not possible to ascertain if he is identifiable as Pietro di Genova (no. 1.225).

²³⁶ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

²³⁷ Bini, “Dei Temperari e del loro processo”, doc. 9, p. 491.

- 225 Pietro di Genova, simple brother, Piacenza (1271).²³⁸
 226 Pietro di Paciliano, simple brother of the house of Chieri (1245).²³⁹
 227 Pietro di Piacenza, simple brother, Piacenza (1286).²⁴⁰
 228 Pietro Garilio, simple brother, Casale Monferrato (1308).²⁴¹
 229 Pietro Genovese, *magister domorum militie Templi Rome* (1244).²⁴²
 230 Porengera di Murello, simple brother of the house of Chieri (1245).²⁴³
 231 Raimondo de Canetis, *miles*, Asti (1303).²⁴⁴
 232 Raimondo Fontana, preceptor of the house of Piacenza (c.1307),²⁴⁵ imprisoned and tried in Emilia-Romagna,²⁴⁶ killed in 1314.²⁴⁷
 233 Raimondo Galiana, simple brother, Ventimiglia (1257).²⁴⁸
 234 Rainerio, *minister* of the house of Piacenza (1172, 1176).²⁴⁹
 235 Rainero de Caselli, simple brother, Piacenza (1244).²⁵⁰
 236 Remondino, vicar of Giacomo da Montecucco, Piacenza (1305).²⁵¹
 237 Riccardo de Albaruxia, preceptor of the houses of Murello, Vercelli and Casale Sant'Evasio, lieutenant of Guglielmo de Noves (1286).²⁵²
 238 Rizzardo, *canavarius* of the house of Brescia (1304).²⁵³
 239 Rogerio, preceptor of the house of Genoa (1244).²⁵⁴
 240 Rolando Bergognino, preceptor of the houses of Gorra, Turin, Chieri and Testona, Turin (1203), preceptor of the houses of Gorra, Chieri and Testona, Chieri (1204).²⁵⁵

²³⁸ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52. It is not possible to ascertain if he is identifiable as Pietro de Genua (no. 1.222).

²³⁹ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

²⁴⁰ *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 189, 190, 192, 194, 195.

²⁴¹ Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 34, p. 265.

²⁴² Pistilli, "Due tipologie insediative", p. 171, fig. 14, p. 192; Riccioni, "Di un'iscrizione templare", p. 278.

²⁴³ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 47, p. 86.

²⁴⁴ Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II, p. 198; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 126.

²⁴⁵ Piacenza, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, notaio Egidio Croso, protocollo 2, 1307-1309, busta 6, fols. 19^v-20^r.

²⁴⁶ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, pp. 527, 529, 531-533; Rossi, *Historiarum*, p. 526; Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorezzo*, appendix, doc. 49, pp. 301-303.

²⁴⁷ Guarino, *Chronicon*, p. 382.

²⁴⁸ *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni de Amalduesio dal 1256 al 1258*, docs. 68-69, pp. 67-69.

²⁴⁹ *Le carte degli Archivi parmensi*, III, doc. 419, pp. 338-339; Nasalli Rocca, "Della introduzione", p. 100, note 2.

²⁵⁰ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²⁵¹ Bini, "Dei Temperi e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 479, 480.

²⁵² Turin, Archivio di Stato, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Ordini cavallereschi, Ordine dei Templari, mazzo 1, no. 7.

²⁵³ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, no. 6; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 12, p. 374.

²⁵⁴ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 12; Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²⁵⁵ *Il «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 45, p. 80, doc. 46, pp. 83, 85.

- 241 Rolando Lombardo of Turin, simple brother, Castellaraldo (1300).²⁵⁶
 242 Rosso, simple brother of the house of Moncalieri (1287).²⁵⁷
 243 Rufino, preceptor of the house of *Niza*, Piacenza (1271).²⁵⁸
 244 Rufino di Alessandria, simple brother (c.1281).²⁵⁹
 245 Ruggero, simple brother, Genoa (1233).²⁶⁰
 246 Rustico Cancellario, simple brother of the house of Milan (1149).²⁶¹
 247 Siclerio, preceptor of the house of Torricella Verzate (1309).²⁶²
 248 Tedaldo, presbyter of the house of Milan (1149).²⁶³
 249 Tolomeo, simple brother of the house of Brescia (1241).²⁶⁴
 250 Tommasino, preceptor of the house of Piacenza (1304).²⁶⁵
 251 Tommaso de Quinzano, presbyter of the house of Brescia (1304).²⁶⁶
 252 Tommaso di Asti, simple brother, Piacenza (1268).²⁶⁷
 253 Trancherio, preceptor of the house of Reggio, Cabriolo (1227).²⁶⁸
 254 Ugo, preceptor of the house of Montebello, Piacenza (1268, 1271, c.1276).²⁶⁹
 255 Ugo Berardo, simple brother, Chambéry (c.1150).²⁷⁰
 256 Ugo de Montebello, simple brother?, Bologna (c.1302).²⁷¹
 257 Ugo Gosio, preceptor of the house of Cremona, Piacenza (1244).²⁷²
 258 Umberto da Pigazzano, preceptor of the house of Milan (1308).²⁷³
 259 Usepio or Eusepio, preceptor of the house of Casale Monferrato, Piacenza (1268, 1271).²⁷⁴
 260 Valsazio da Pavia, simple brother, Torricella Verzate? (c.1261).²⁷⁵

²⁵⁶ *The Trial of Templars in The Papal State and Abruzzi*, p. 250.

²⁵⁷ *Cartario dell'abazia di S. Solutore*, doc. 169, p. 227.

²⁵⁸ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 52.

²⁵⁹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 471.

²⁶⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 99.

²⁶¹ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 2, p. 214.

²⁶² *Carte*, I/2, doc. 350, pp. 577, 578, 580.

²⁶³ Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 2, p. 214.

²⁶⁴ Guerrini, "La «mansio templi»", doc. 2, p. 317.

²⁶⁵ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304.

²⁶⁶ Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Averoldi, busta 234, no. 6; Bellomo, "Da mansione", doc. 12, p. 374.

²⁶⁷ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", p. 48.

²⁶⁸ Alberzoni, "«Sub eandem clausuram sequestrati»", p. 105.

²⁶⁹ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48–49, 52; Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 466.

²⁷⁰ *Regesta Comitum Sabaudie*, doc. 305, p. 112.

²⁷¹ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, pp. 474, 478.

²⁷² Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²⁷³ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 6th of April 1308.

²⁷⁴ Trota, "L'Ordine dei cavalieri templari", pp. 48, 52.

²⁷⁵ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 9, p. 491.

- 261 Vassallo, simple brother, Piacenza (1244).²⁷⁶
 262 Viviano, presbyter of the house of Alba (1217).²⁷⁷
 263 Vivolo, preceptor of the house of Brescia (1239, 1241).²⁷⁸

2. *Lay associates*

- 1 Albertino, Milan (1291).²⁷⁹
 2 Arrigo di Milano, *conversus*, Lucca (1244).²⁸⁰
 3 Bosso, *conversus*, Moncalieri (1256).²⁸¹
 4 Dalmazio de Verzario, *confrater*, Milan (1149).²⁸²
 5 Domenico di Piccorano, *decanus scole mansionis de Templo*, Milan (1226).²⁸³
 6 Euberto, son of *ser* [...] de Monte, *familiaris*, Milan (1304).²⁸⁴
 7 Giacomo Carraccia of Savona, *confrater, syndicus et procurator*, lay associate?, Asti (1286).²⁸⁵
 8 Giovanni Banasta, *conversus*, Moncalieri (1256).²⁸⁶
 9 Giselberto, son of Giselberto di Attone, *Hierosolimitano Templo ad serviendum Deo traditus et oblatus*, Bergamo (1145).²⁸⁷
 10 Giusta, *donata*, wife of Robaldo Marabotto, Albenga (1167).²⁸⁸
 11 Guala I Bicchieri, Vercelli (before 1193).²⁸⁹
 12 Oberto, *conversus*, Albenga (1143–1144).²⁹⁰
 13 Pietro, son of the late Alberto da Meda, *familiaris*, Milan (1304).²⁹¹
 14 Robaldo Marabotto, *donatus*, Albenga (1167–1179).²⁹²

²⁷⁶ Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, p. 178.

²⁷⁷ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 139.

²⁷⁸ Guerrini, "La «mansio Templi»", doc. 1, p. 317; Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Bresciano, Codice diplomatico bresciano, busta 8, cartella 1, no. 18; Bellomo, "Da mansione templare", doc. 2, p. 372.

²⁷⁹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 81.

²⁸⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo", doc. 1, p. 439.

²⁸¹ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune di Moncalieri, Serie Generale, no. 244.

²⁸² Colombo, "I Gerosolimitani", doc. 2, p. 214.

²⁸³ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, pp. 69–70.

²⁸⁴ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304.

²⁸⁵ *Documenti capitolari*, doc. 398, pp. 184–185, doc. 614, p. 297.

²⁸⁶ Moncalieri, Archivio Storico del Comune di Moncalieri, Serie Generale, no. 244.

²⁸⁷ Bellomo, "Una mansione", doc. 1, pp. 193–194.

²⁸⁸ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–49.

²⁸⁹ "I necrologi eusebiani", no. 172, p. 383.

²⁹⁰ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 30–34.

²⁹¹ Milan, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Religione, Miscellanea Materiale Restaurato, cartella 5, 16th of October 1304.

²⁹² Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 48–51, 66.

- 15 Scurlino, *famulus*, Piacenza (1310).²⁹³
 16 Ugo de Verzario, *deditus mansionis de Templo*, Pavia or Casei Gerola (1181).²⁹⁴

3. *Templar brethren and lay associates whose existence or origin from North-west Italy is uncertain or whose membership in the Temple or actual status is unspecified*

- 1 Albino de Placentia, *Campaneus* (1304).²⁹⁵
 2 Anselmo, simple brother, Fossano (1231).²⁹⁶
 3 Antonio, simple brother, Busca (1196).²⁹⁷
 4 Carlo Converso, lay associate?, Albenga (1144).²⁹⁸
 5 Giacomo de Monte Regali, preceptor of Hungary (1290).²⁹⁹
 6 Giacomo Guglielmo, Chieri (1190).³⁰⁰
 7 Giovanni, presbyter (Cremona).³⁰¹
 8 Guglielmo de Pedemontis, Rome (c. 1300–1303).³⁰²
 9 Guglielmo Lombardo, simple brother, Rome (c.1304).³⁰³
 10 Guglielmo Normanno, *missus* of the house of Albenga (1144–1145).³⁰⁴
 11 Guglielmo Ridolfino de Palma, *procurator*, Genoa (1254).³⁰⁵
 12 Guido Fuscignaria, Genoa (c.1244).³⁰⁶
 13 Isnardo da Bologna, Genoa (c.1244).³⁰⁷
 14 Michele Capaster, Chieri (1190).³⁰⁸
 15 Oldrado Rogiato, lay associate?, Milan (1226).³⁰⁹
 16 Pietro, presbyter, Piacenza (1304).³¹⁰

²⁹³ *Carte*, I/2, doc. 332, p. 527.

²⁹⁴ *Le carte di S. Pietro*, II, doc. 87, p. 145, doc. 137, p. 226, doc. 112, p. 186.

²⁹⁵ Cagnin, *Templari*, doc. 7b, p. 86.

²⁹⁶ Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 115.

²⁹⁷ Ponziglione, “Saggio”, p. 114.

²⁹⁸ Cennamo, *I Templari*, p. 33.

²⁹⁹ Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatkai Levéltár (Diplomatics Archive), no. 40197, 1290; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, VII, pp. 114–115; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus*, p. 16.

³⁰⁰ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, p. XXII.

³⁰¹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 100.

³⁰² *The Trial in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 173–176, 178–179, 181–183.

³⁰³ *The Trial in the Papal State and Abruzzi*, pp. 216–217.

³⁰⁴ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 35–37.

³⁰⁵ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109.

³⁰⁶ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 12.

³⁰⁷ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 12.

³⁰⁸ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, p. XXII.

³⁰⁹ Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 70.

³¹⁰ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Conventi e Confraternite, Archivio di S. Giovanni in

- 17 Poncio, simple brother, Busca (1196).³¹¹
 18 Raul di Campagna, Genoa (c.1244).³¹²
 19 Stefano, Chieri (1190).³¹³
 20 Uberto, simple brother, Busca (1196).³¹⁴
 21 Ugo, *missus* of the house of Albenga (1144–1145).³¹⁵
 22 Ugo, simple brother, Busca (1196).³¹⁶
 23 Ugo, simple brother, Demonte (1216).³¹⁷
 24 Vivaldo de Vecia, procurator and *sindicus* of Guglielmo da Bubbio, Genoa (1254).³¹⁸
 25 Ymberta de Cremena, *soror*?, Albon?³¹⁹

Canale, LXXXVI, busta 2, fascicolo A 3, 8th of July 1304. It has been hypothesised that he is identifiable as Pietro Caccia (no. 1.219).

³¹¹ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 114.

³¹² Tacchella, *Gli insediamenti*, p. 12.

³¹³ *Appendice al «Libro Rosso»*, doc. 24, p. XXII.

³¹⁴ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 114.

³¹⁵ Cennamo, *I Templari*, pp. 35–36.

³¹⁶ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 114.

³¹⁷ Ponziglione, "Saggio", p. 113.

³¹⁸ *Documenti sulle relazioni tra Voghera e Genova*, doc. 169, p. 109.

³¹⁹ *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 110. She may also be identifiable as the Templar Humbert de Crimen or Cremi. *Le procès*, II, pp. 352, 366.

FIGURES

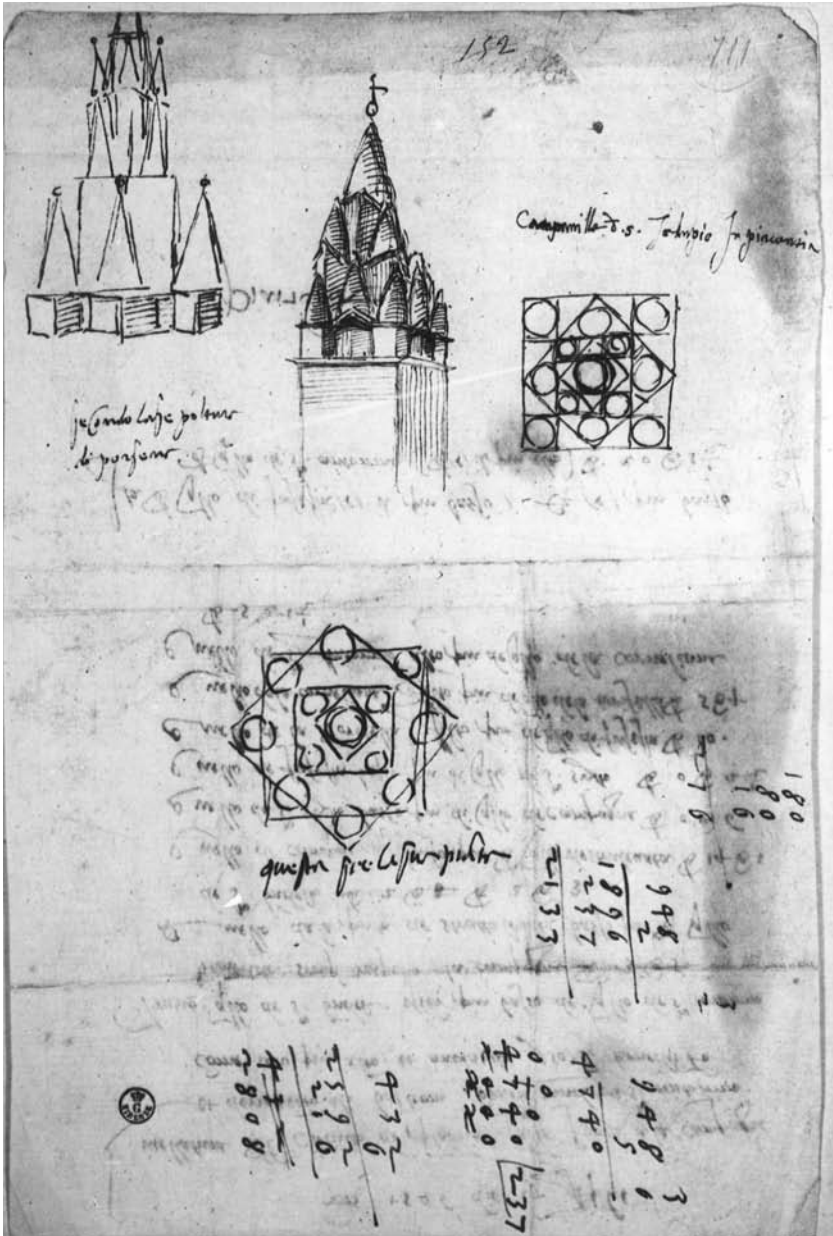


Figure 1. Sketches of the tower of Santa Maria del Tempio in Piacenza by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. Courtesy of Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 2. Santa Maria di Isana, Livorno Ferraris, façade. Photo by Elena Bellomo.



Figure 3. Santa Maria di Isana, Livorno Ferraris, south side. Photo by Elena Bellomo.



Figure 4. Santa Maria di Isana, Livorno Ferraris,
detail of façade. Photo by Elena Bellomo.

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⁵ A partial copy of the manuscript was procured for me by Marco Meschini.

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INDEX¹

Abbreviations

- archb. = archbishop
b. = bishop
cath. = cathedral
ch. = church
h. = hospital
H = Hospitaller
Hum. = Humiliatus/i
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- k. = king
l.a. = lay affiliate
mon. = monastery
pat. = patriarch
p.m. = provincial master
q. = queen
T = Templar
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